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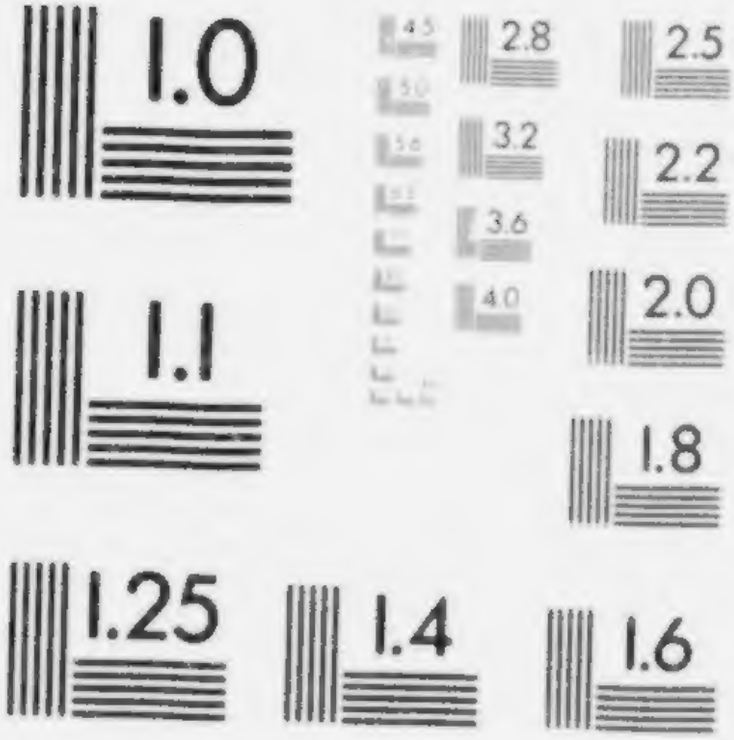

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Quebec and Confederation

A record of the

Debate of the Legislative Assembly of Quebec

on the

Motion proposed by J.-N. Francoeur

Member for Lotbiniere

THE MOTION.—"That this House is of opinion that the Province of Quebec would be disposed to accept the breaking of the Confederation Pact of 1867 if, in the other provinces, it is believed that she is an obstacle to the union, progress and development of Canada."

Translated from the French by A. Savard and W. E. Playfair, of the Quebec and Ottawa Press Galleries

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1997

FOREWORD

There is no Hansard in the Quebec Legislature, and so no official record is to be found of the debates in the two Houses of that Parliament. Dealing as they do with local affairs, discussions that take place in a provincial House are seldom of interest to the people of other parts of Canada; but there are occasional outstanding exceptions, and one of these is the so-called Francœur debate. It aroused the keenest interest from one end of the Dominion to the other, for its subject vitally concerned the very structure of Confederation. The editors of this report believe that, by collecting and translating the various speeches made during that discussion, they are preserving a valuable political document.

The attitude of the Province of Quebec towards compulsory military service, and federal measures arising out of that policy, such as the War-Time Elections Act, aroused great hostility against the pioneer province of Canada, and against the French-Canadian nationality. In newspapers throughout Canada appeared bitter attacks on Quebec, on her people, and even public men on public platforms did not skrink from voicing these attacks. As was natural, the people of Quebec felt a reciprocal feeling of bitterness.

We do not feel that this is the moment to go into the merits of the matter, nor is it part of our duty as editors to attempt such a task. We do, however, believe that the attitude of the people of Quebec has been to a large extent misunderstood by the English-speaking Canadians of the other provinces, and that the true way to a Bonne Entente is through mutual understanding and sympathy. The present report, published by two young men different by race who have thus met, should do its share to bring about such an understanding.

Although its coming was looked forward to with more or less trepidation, the Francœur debate was in no sense sensational. The discussion was maintained on a high plane. The author of the motion that precipitated the debate declared that he did not wish for the separation of Quebec from Confederation, but merely for a " show-down ", an opening up of the whole question, so that the air might be cleared once for all. Others spoke in the same vein. There was much of history, little of rancor. Incidentally, from an oratorical point of view, the debate would have been creditable to any Parliament.

From the broad Canadian view point the entire discussion would have been well worth while, in our opinion, had there been but the splendid speech of Sir Lomer Gouin, Prime Minister of the Province, and nothing more. Here is a quotation that sums up the attitude of Sir Lomer on " Quebec and Confederation ".

" To make myself more clear I declare that if I had been a party to the negotiations of 1864, I would certainly have tried, had I had the authority to do so, to obtain for the French-Canadian minority in the sister provinces the same protection as was obtained for the English minority in the Province of Quebec. I would not have asked that as a concession, but as a measure of justice. And even if it had not been accorded me I would have voted in favor of the resolutions of 1864.

" At the time of the debate of 1865, I would have renewed my demand for this measure of prudence and justice. And if I had not succeeded, I would still have declared myself in favor of the system as it was adopted March 13, 1865. And even at this moment, Sir, in spite of the troubles that have arisen in the administration of our country since 1867, in spite of the trouble caused those people from Quebec who constitute the minority in the other provinces, if I had to choose between Confederation and the Act of 1791 or the Act of 1840-41, I would vote for Confederation still.

Whœver has approached the Prime-Minister of Quebec has felt his strong personality. There is a strange magne-

tism about Sir Lomer Gouin whenever he speaks. But never was he more impressive than on the day when he closed the debate on the Francœur motion by his admirable speech, which brought him eulogy from all parts of the Dominion.

We purposely refrained from quoting any press comment, for none held anything but the greatest praise for the statesmanship of the Premier of Quebec.

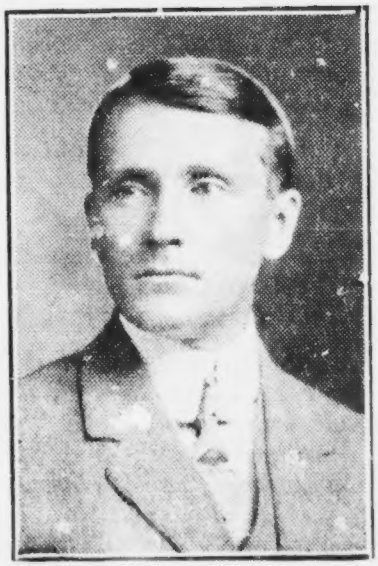
Sir Lomer Gouin, on that day, did give the impression of being a true and great leader, indicating the way with assurance, and great logical force.

M. Sauvé, the leader of the Opposition also made a good speech, and deserved the compliments of the Prime-Minister, as well as all the other speakers.

The speeches are hereafter published in the same order as delivered. M. Francœur brought his motion on January 17th. The debate was continued on Tuesday, the 22nd, and ended on Wednesday, 23rd, by Mr. Francœur withdrawing his motion without a vote being taken.

A. S. *and* W. E. P.

March 9th, 1918.
Quebec.



FRANCOEUR, JOSEPH NAPOLEON, LL.L. (Lotbinière). S. of Auguste Francœur and Avila Caron, French-Canadians. B. Dec. 1. 13. 1880, at Cap St. Ignace, Montmagny. Ed. Laval Normal School, Quebec, and Seminary of Quebec; Laval University, Quebec. An advocate. Lt. in the 9th Quebec Regiment. First elec. to Legis. Assem. of Quebec at g.e. June, 1908. Re-elec. g.e., 1912 and 1916. A Roman Catholic. A Liberal. 72½ St. Peter St., Quebec City.

JOSEPH-NAPOLEON FRANCOEUR

Member for Lotbinière.

Mr. Speaker :—

The motion which this House is called upon to study, merits, I believe, special attention. Since I gave notice of it, the press and a great many people have discussed it. Needless to say it has been viewed in various ways. It has provoked expressions of opinion, some favorable, others not, but all, in a general way, interesting to analyse. In various degrees these opinions reveal an anxious state of mind, a disquiet as to the future. Running through the steady affirmation of ideas, principles, passions and even prejudices is a clear and even dominating feeling that something has changed in our national life, that a grave situation exists, that a new problem has arisen which must be studied at once and for which a definite solution must be found. Some admit the existence of this problem and want to attack it resolutely and at once. Others, while not denying its existence, prefer to put off its consideration, doubtless believing that time will come to our assistance. In my opinion, the former are right, but I have no intention of branding the latter as wrong. I attach too much importance to my own freedom of thought to refuse to respect that of others. In the course of the remarks which I will have the honor to submit to the appreciation of this House I desire to discuss the matter with the greatest reserve, avoiding letting myself be carried away by passion or prejudice, deaf, if that be possible, to all but the voice of reason and sober sense. May I be permitted at the very outset to declare that it was not chagrin and bitterness arising out of the recent defeat of my party that gave me the idea of presenting this motion. I trust that higher motives may be attributed to me, that the House will admit that I am actuated by a more exact idea of my responsibility. Had the Liberal party emerged victorious from the electoral contest of December 17 last, I would have acted in the same manner. Over and above its intrinsic meaning, this resolution is not a complaint against the

result of the election, but it is certainly a protest against the campaign of insult, falsehood and slander to which that election gave rise.

I will at once proceed to examine all the interviews or opinions that have been given concerning this motion since it was inscribed on the orders of the day of this House. I must, however, lay special stress on some of these in as much as they may have created a false impression in certain quarters. Let us cite the greatest (A tout seigneur tout honneur). I will begin with Sir George Garneau. La Presse quoted him as saying, first : "I have not had time to reflect very much on this motion, which I have just read, etc." And at once thereafter, declaring that the motion was inopportune, he rushed into remarks on the recent elections, the Bonne Entente, and the like. Mr. Garneau evidently said to himself : "Let us speak first and reflect later". He believed that the mere fact of this motion being presented would lead at once to the breaking of the federative pact. With Quebec separated from the other provinces, his role of peace-maker would be useless. Mr. Garneau need not worry. We do not wish to shatter his latest illusions, unless the advice charitably given by Sen. Choquette has aroused him finally to a sense of reality.

The opinion of another public man, distinguished doctor and eminent specialist, professor in Laval and alderman of Quebec, deserves special attention. Dr. Dussault, in language remarkably concise, and purified in his bilingualism, summarized his thought, weighty with foresight, in these two words : "It's tough". (C'est tough). That is clear, is it not ? What dexterity ! It is the clever thrust of the scalpel that cuts the membrane and restores to the eye its vision and beauty. Useless to pursue the matter further.

Another statesman, but of later date, lawyer, and also a Laval professor, sets forth in his organ, L'Evenement, with its sympathetic leanings, an opinion not less remarkable. Mr. Ferland Roy emerged from the retreat where he wooed the Muses with his "Appeal to Arms, and the French-Canadian Reply". It is well known that in this work, the third edition of which tries to explain the two others, the author, in his chimney corner, in dressing gown and slippers, pointed out to his compatriots the course of action they were to follow in regard to conscription. Himself comfortably installed, he begged them to go uncon-

plainingly to the trenches, to defend France and England, now threatened, and in this way contribute to the saving of menaced liberty and civilization. Since the publication of this work, especially remarkable for its appendix, and received with a "silent welcome", Mr. Roy has returned to his habit of not bothering about things, doubtless taking up again the study of literature, which he knows is always profitable. After reading his interview, one is convinced that he must have worked hard. It is a work that gives ample evidence of midningt oil, but reveals real progress in the statesman and warrior. If possible, let us, summarize his views. "The member for Lotbinière is not in earnest. He is a joker, a wag, who, for his own amusement demands the head of the English. It is always dangerous to play with loaded weapons," he says. Well, he knows something about that. He adds : "The storm of the election has perhaps rattled some of the windows of our house, which is not, certainly, a comfortable home, but it does not seem that this storm has opened any door of Confederation, through which, in this time of war, it would be good or opportune for us to go out. We must know how to and avoid the mistake of wishing to seize occasion by the hair and grasping nothing but a wig". Why did he not follow this advice himself ? He would not have written his song of war, in which, indeed, you may find the refutation of the very thing he has just declared. He seems to have forgotten it. I may then be permitted to ask which is the greater joker of the two, the Roy of "The Appeal to Arms", or the Roy of the interview on this motion. If I were permitted to be wicked, I would say that this singular feature appeared in the two productions. Let us look at the thing a little. On page 7, third edition of his pamphlet, we find, under the heading "The Causes", these lines : "Racial and political hatred have caused us all this trouble. In favor of the European war, the English of Canada, and, once for all, I mean by that not only the extremists who are numerous among them, but all the others, the English have shamelessly emphasized their anti-French struggle" etc. On page 8, under the same heading, I read : "Our Confederation, which had all at once made giant strides towards spreading out into a country free to make and live its own life, soon found itself swallowed up in the great whole, that is the British Empire, losing its own individuality . . . . . The same voracity that in England robbed us even to our name of Canadians we find

even here under these Imperialist pigmies, who, while waiting for the Empire to absorb her colonies, wished to destroy everything that was French in character."

On page 9: "The race war always carried on against us quietly, became open and acute. All the batteries were unmasked. While we were going to help put out the fire that was raging in Europe, they set fire to our house". Then, on pages 21 and 22, under the heading : "Our Duty", he continues : "And first of all that we should practise 'sacred egotism', and, as a people, seek our own good before that of others, I do not contradict. If necessary, I would push this principle as far as this consequence, that we should seek our wellbeing, and work for our happiness as a French-Canadian nation, first of all, before chasing the chimera of a collective happiness for the Canadian or Anglo-French 'nation' which has this radical fault, that it does not exist. Have the two famillies that quarellingly divide Canada the same ideal, the same origin, the same customs ? It is well known that we are simple partners who do not agree among ourselves and kept together by the letter of the partnership agreement, and that the failure of the firm, imminent for three years, did not need to be recognized to be officially determined, as it was on the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation". On page 24, Mr. Roy asks : "What do we owe to Confederation ? "And he replies: "The fact that we have been dupes. What do we owe to this daughter of France that is our province ? To keep in our hearts and to translate into action her motto : "Je me souviens !" to preserve intact the patrimony we inherit, and to keep its honor unsullied". Finally, on page 30, the author says : "Our English adversaries will push further than ever their struggles of rivalry, even to the point of atrocities. Is it not a question of reprisals, and of making our province lose its standing in Confederation ? Is it not a question of changing our constitution to limit our autonomy ?"

All that was written in the month of July, 1917, and the interview was published December 27 of the same year. If, in the month of July, Confederation was "swallowed up" in the great Empire and had lost its individuality, if our "house had been set on fire", if the "firm had failed", and Confederation had made us "dupes", if our adversaries had carried on "struggles of rivalry even to the point of atrocities", if we were threatened with our

province losing her standing in Confederaion, and of even having "the constitution changed to limit our autonomy", it is very difficult to admit, four months after, that there are only some windows rattled, that it is not timely to study this question, and that, in desiring to remedy the situation, we run the risk of grasping the shadow and missing the substance.

Is there not here a flagrant contradiction ? Had Mr. Roy taken the trouble to read the resolution which is now submitted to you, I do not believe he would have treated the question so cavalierly. Plainly, Mr. Roy, like everybody else, had forgotten his pamphlet. He is too modest. He will forgive me, I hope, for having dug it up from oblivion for a few moments. Were it permitted me to give him some advice, I would say : If you write pamphlets, do not give interviews.

THE MEANING OF HIS MOTION

No, this motion is not a joke, and the proof is that the press in general has discussed it on a very serious basis. From all parts of the province and even from Ontario I have received important support. It is not possible for me at present to give out all of these views. The Montreal Star pretends to attach no importance to the resolution, coming, as it does, from a "country member". If that newspaper wanted to make me feel badly by giving me such a title, it made a mistake. If there is a name I bear with pride and honour it is that of "country member". If the editors of the Star would visit the country from time to time their physical and intellectual health would benefit, and their paper would feel the advantage. At first the Gazette seemed to ignore the resolution, but little by little came to take it up seriously.

Next come Tory papers like L'Evenement and other organs of the same value, blind partisans of the government in power which they think this simple motion threatens. Partisans through and through, at once saw, in these few lines, an opposition manœuvre dangerous to the security of their masters. They feared for their cheese, and their digestion troubled them. Fear so upset some of them that they lost sight of the resolution itself in attacking its author, insulting him, and attributing to him

shameful motives. Did we not know the price of their convictions, it would be impossible to explain their attitude.

Was it opportune to present this motion ? In my opinion it is the result of the speeches, writings, newspaper articles, reviews and pamphlets prepared and distributed against the province of Quebec in the last three years. A systematic campaign was undertaken, which attained its maximum of violence during the last election campaign. At the very beginning of the war, they started in the English provinces and especially in Ontario, to cast down on our loyalty because voluntary enlistment did not meet with the same success here as elsewhere, because our people did not respond as they might have wished to the appeal to go and fight in far off lands, for the defense of liberty and civilization, it is true, but without knowing exactly the causes which brought on the conflict.

This campaign of falsehood, of sophistry, of insult, of slander and of hate that was carried on against our province was directed by newspapers like the Toronto World, the Daily Mail and Empire, the Toronto Globe, the Winnipeg Telegram, the Toronto Telegram, the Toronto News, the Ottawa Journal, the Union, the Manitoba Free Press, this latter carrying violence to such a pitch that its contemporary the Regina Leader, disgusted, finally advised it charitably to abandon its devilish conduct. Those who read the Star and Gazette of Montreal, and the Chronicle and L'Evenement of Quebec, have seen these articles reproduced, and even cartoons in which we were represented as plotting with the Kaiser, etc, etc.

These articles went the rounds of the French and English press of the country, of the United States, and even of the old continent. I must give special attention to some of them

On reading them the evidence of a conspiracy to ruin the reputation of the province of Quebec is plain. As long ago as 1914 the Sentinel, under the signature of Puttenham, advised nothing more nor less than civil war

"The bilingual agitation should be destroyed. It is time our government ceased to bandy words with these traitors. Our government should drive out of British territory the some forty thousand wicked monks and nuns who bring up the French-Canadian youth in the idea of rebellion against the British Empire. There should be no truce with Rome. We must crush

her or she will crush us. We must prepare at once for the imminent struggle with these French traitors and the sooner we begin the battle, the better it will be for our Dominion. Great Britain should rule Canada as she rules the waves."

Later on, he writes : "The French-Canadians have no heart for war. They are a peaceable people. We are not surprised that they have no military vocation. That is a mark of men of initiative. But the clergy have destroyed their initiative..... The French-Canadian never thinks for himself. In all important matters he goes and asks his superiors what he is to do. He is reduced to the state of a human machine".

The Kingston Standard writes with not less warmth : "The French-Canadians have resorted to the Hun methods of treachery They will find that the British Empire does not allow within its limits any imitator of the Huns". The Telegram gives the following advice to the Canadian soldiers : "Canadian soldiers and their friends should not vote shoulder to shoulder with the neutral racialists of Quebec and the German-Austrians of Alberta and Saskatchewan who hate England. The population of one million of New Zealand is all recruitable, in this sense, that New Zealand is exclusively British. That is not the case in Canada, where 3,000,000 out of the 8,000,000 are French of Quebec or German-Austrians"

The News continues in the same strain : "We believe it is true that the French clergy oppose recruiting in Quebec. It is not only a few parish priests who are hostile. The sentiment extends from the parish priests to the bishops and archbishops. Certain appeals have been made with a view to disarming criticism in the communities where English is spoken, but the influence of the clergy of Quebec is indisputably against recruiting. We are told that only two or three parish priests in the whole province are in favor of the participation of Quebec in the war, and that, in certain instances, certain young men who had expressed a wish to enlist were threatened with spiritual ills.....Since the war broke out they have simply written a new chapter in the old conspiracy to dominate Canada. The dream of reconquering and dominating Canada has never been abandoned. They have placed race at the service of religion and religion at the service of race. They have accomplished the impossible to preserve the French language and to prevent the spread of English, without regard to the

handicaps they were placing on the advancement of their people. They encouraged French-Canadian immigration to Ontario and the western provinces. Everywhere they have looked for strategic positions and endeavored to consolidate their political influence. French extremists were delighted to see a great number of battalions leave the English provinces for overseas. They are indifferent to the losses and sacrifices of the people of English tongue. They see only one thing, and that is, the greater the losses and sacrifices of the English provinces, the greater the political power of Quebec. They think they will be able in this way to make common cause with the Germans and Austrians".

On December 7, 1917, the Winnipeg Telegram, speaking of the Halifax disaster, said of us, very kindly : "It should have been Quebec. In Quebec it would have been of inestimable value as an object lesson to those who see so little the danger of an unfortunate issue of this war to Canada".

All these insults, all these falsehoods and slanders are condensed in an election notice published in the paper "The Union" and reproduced in the Evening Telegram. The Citizens' Union Committee, with general headquarters in Toronto, distributed this publication under the following heading : "Is a United Quebec to Rule all Canada ?", and with this sub-title : "The Citizens' Union Committee, anxious for the maintenance of British ideals and traditions, views with alarm the menace of French-Canadian domination and its inevitable influence upon the home, the school, and the state..... Union Government alone can save Canada from the menace of French-Canadian domination. "We find elsewhere, furnished by the same committee, other titles, such as : "Who is stabbing Canada's soldiers in the back ? Disloyal leaders in Quebec." The old dream of French independance again"..... "Anti-British agitators waiting for solid Quebec with aim of dominating Canadian affairs". "Anti-British agitators join hands with Laurier", etc., etc.

We may be told perhaps that these quotations prove nothing. These papers reflect only the opinions of certain fanatics. Nobody pays any attention to these appeals to passion and prejudice. If it is only a matter of isolated cases, if, in reality, these writings are nothing but the expressions of opinion of a small number of hotheads, we would attach no importance to them

But this same press calmly reproduce speeches of public men, who, in big meetings, had not mouths large enough to spit forth, amid general applause, the bitterness and hatred distilled by their hearts against everything French and Catholic. We have not forgotten the virulent attacks of Hocken, now member of Parliament, who at a political meeting, shouted : "I tell you our Constitution was not made by the English-speaking race to be broken by the French, but to be obeyed by all ; and the time has come when the English-speaking race must either surrender, or stand by all we hold dear. And I do not think it is in the blood of that English-speaking race to lie down on a job, of this kind, when those we love so dearly are giving their lives for us."

And what are we to think of one Isaac Campbell, who ended his speech in Grace Church in declaring that Quebec was "the plague spot of the Dominion". But will it still be objected that these men or others of the same mentality do not represent anything ? That their speeches represent only their personal opinions, that they have no mandate to represent their countrymen and to speak in their name ? Do you wish to hear somebody who is more representative ? The leader, not only of a party, but also of a province, and even of a race. Can we be equally forgiving in the case of the Hon. Newton W. Rowell, minister in the Unionist Cabinet, and president of the executive council of the country ? He spoke at North Bay December 6, 1917, before a great meeting, the very same night that Bishop Fallon issued his manifesto in favor of the Unionist Government. We find his speech published in the Globe of December 7, 1917.

Did the Hon. Mr. Rowell repudiate the writings, the speeches full of mistakes and of slander that we have quoted so far ? On the contrary, he took up the theme, developped it, and accentuated it. Here is what he said : "The present attitude of the province of Quebec may be due to several causes. Undoubtedly the present agitation carried on by Mr. Bourassa and his Nationalist associates against Great Britain and France and Canada's participation in the war has most powerfully influenced the feelings and attitude of the Province of Quebec. And apparently the majority of the cures throughout the province share his Nationalist, clerical, and reactionary attitude. In this attitude, they were undoubtedly encouraged and abbetted by the members of their religious orders from France, who found an asylum in

Canada and used that asylum to undermine Canada's strength in the struggle. It is a misfortune that they did not follow the example of the priests of the Catholic church in France who threw themselves into the struggle of their people to preserve their national existence and by their courage and sacrifice won for themselves a new place in the hearts and affections of the French people. We might as well frankly face the issue. There is a Nationalist, clerical, and reactionary movement at work in the Province of Quebec which, today, dominates the political situation in that province, and is using this hour of great national peril to dominate the political situation throughout the Dominion of Canada."

Is not this exactly like rereading the lying and bitter prose of the citizens' Union Committee ? Does not his speech summarize all the thought of the detractors of Quebec, and lay bare the conspiracy of which we spoke a moment ago ? Can it be pretended any more that we should ignore these attacks, and keep on offering both our cheeks to every buffet ? The result of the last election shows how far those to whom such appeals were made responded. Since that time the tone has not changed greatly, and the Evening Journal continues the campaign, no doubt recalling Mr. Rowell's speech when it says : "We must save Quebec in spite of herself, and lead her back into the right path, even if force is necessary. That is the verdict of last Monday, and we must not allow false appeals to national unity, or a false understanding to interfere with the application of this verdict."

It is plain to see that they are still animated with rage and fury against us. We will merely reply, in the words of a great author : "Most human furies are nothing but unadmitted sufferings, and the saliva you spit on others comes from wounds you have yourself sustained".

Why this campaign against the Province of Quebec ? Did she deserve such treatment ? In short, what is the great crime of which she is guilty ? Has she actually been an obstacle to the union, progress and development of this country ?

Her only crime is that she interpreted the Constitution in a different manner from her fellow-citizens of different origin, that she denounced certain acts which, in her opinion, not only did not contribute to the success of the war and the safety of the Empire, but rather interfered with the issue of the one and the attainment of the other. It is because her people have shown themselves

first of all Canadians, because they believe that the first thing to do was to develop this country in the interest of the Empire itself, that the greater its prosperity, is the greater the possibility of achieving our destiny, because above all they demanded that the people be consulted before conscription was accepted. Apparently these are the reasons for this fight against us, but are there deeper and more real reasons.

CONFEDERATION, A COMPROMISE....

Two races of superior endowment divide this country between them, the french race and the english race. For more than a hundred and fifty years they have lived and developed beside each other. There has been, at least, at certain moments, collaboration to bring about an understanding between them for the purpose of working out a common ideal. Each one, directed by its leaders, achieved appreciable success that it would be useless to deny. With different mentalities, taking into account human nature, their instincts and the law governing them, in spite of cupidity, jealousy, passion and prejudice, we were able to live to a certain point in comparative peace. But it must be admitted it never went very deep. The difference of character remained. Indeed it could not be otherwise, our manner of thinking and of feeling is not the same as that of our compatriots of different origin. Our language and our faith, our ancestral traditions inspire us with means of action different and sometimes conflicting, although tending to the same end. From these facts arise conflicts and friction.

Confederation is a compromise agreed upon in order to make these things disappear fifty years ago. In the intention of its authors, it was to assure respect of the rights, institutions, language and faith of minorities. The provinces were to preserve their autonomy and each, in the ardor of a common emulation seething to become the first factor in the general progress, was to assure the prosperity of all. That is what Cartier thought when he said : "There is no danger that an attempt will ever be made to deprive a minority of its rights. Under the system of federal government which leaves to the central power control of great questions of general interest which have nothing to do with differences of race, the rights of race, or religion, can never be

infringed upon." That was also the opinion of Brown when he said, on February 8th, 1865 : "We have here a people composed of two distinct races, speaking different languages, whose religious, social, municipal, and educational institutions are totally different : among whom sectional enmities were so bitter that all government was rendered practically impossible for a number of years : whose constitution is so unjust from the point of view of one section that it justifies resort to any means to remedy it. We are endeavoring to settle forever differences scarcely less important than those which have torn the neighboring republic and which to-day expose her to all the horrors of civil war." Further on, with real conviction, he added : " So, when it will be given to us to see the measure actually passed, justice done to the two provinces, everybody placed on a footing of equality, local interest left to the control of each locality and local expenses defrayed by each, will there not result to everybody a feeling of security and stability that we have not known for a long time and which we would never have been able to enjoy under present conditions."

To these high considerations in favor of Confederation, M. A. A. Dorion made the following objection : "How can we hope that lower-Canada can have any great confidence in the general government which will wield such immense power over the destinies of this province ? Experience shows that majorities are always agressive and inclined to be tyrannical, and it cannot be otherwise in this case. I greatly fear that the day this confederation is adopted will be a fatal day for Canada."

M. J. H. Perreault also predicted trouble : " we will find ourselves completely at the mercy of a hostile majority. It can oppress us, assimilate our laws, suspend our judges, arm the military against us, and send us to the scaffold or into exile when it wished, despite our protestations and those of the French-Canadian minority of the federal parliament."
M. Taschereau, later chief justice of the supreme court, closed his speech on this great question in the following words :" You will soon see that this confederation will be the ruin of our institutions. Our descendents, instead of being grateful to us for what we are doing to-day will say that we were greatly mistaken and that we erred fatally when we imposed upon them this fatal act." M. Joly, member for Lotbinière, feared that there was not enough

homogeneity among the protestants and the French, English and Irish Catholics, speaking two different languages.

"The strongest odds, "he said," that can link together citizens of a single state are a common language and a religion common to all. We have neither the one nor the other." And he closed his splendid speech in these words : "From both points of view I consider the measure to be a fatal mistake, and as a French-Canadian I appeal still once more to my compatriots, reminding them that they wave in their hands a precious heritage sanctified by the blood of their fathers, which it is their duty to transmit to their children intact, as they received it." We might continue our quotations which are of considerable interest in the present circumstances.

AFTER 50 YEARS

Are we in a position to say now, after 50 years, whether Cartier and the others who favored confederation were right, or whether it was Dorion, Perreault, Taschereau, Joly and the others! Neither in Europe nor America nor any country in the world has it been found possible to establish anything lasting without freedom. The authors of confederation understood this. They kept it in mind as much as they could when they were forming into one immense agglomeration the different provinces of Canada, joining them on a basis of equality in order to follow and attain in the progress and development of an independent democracy, united with the british crown, a single aim, a single ideal. That was the idea of Sir John A. Macdonald when, on February 17th 1890, replying to Dalton McCarthy, who proposed the abolition of french in the legislature of the North-West, he said : "I do not share the desire expressed in certain quarters that it is necessary by any mean whatsoever, to oppress one language or place it on a basis of inferiority in relation to another. I do not believe that the thing would succeed even it were tried, and it would be a folly or a malicious thing if it were possible. The statement made that Canada is a conquered country is a statement that has no bearing on the case. Whether Canada was conquered or ceded, we have a constitution by virtue of which all british subjects are on a footing of equality, having equal rights of language, religion, property, and personal liberties. *There is no superior race, there is no*

conquered race here. We are all british subjects and those who are not of english origin are not the less british subjects."

Have we met the wishes of the fathers of confederation? Has the province of Quebec in particular respected the undertakings implied in this partnership agreement? Has she neglected or fulfilled the duties and obligations it imposes? Without fear of contradiction we can affirm that we have never shrunk from any duty and that we have never shirked any responsibility.

We have enjoyed the liberty that was granted us while respecting that or others. We have preserved and defended our autonomy without ever infringing upon that of others. We have respected the rights of the minority here and we have demanded that the same thing be done elsewhere. As Brown wished, we have wanted everybody placed on a footing of equality.

No idea of domination entered our efforts in favor of the use of our language, the respect of our rights recognized by our constitution. No desire for conquest has animated us in our aspirations. All the struggles we have carried on had as their aim nothing but the defense of what we considered to be the expression of the constitution. Impartial history will bear witness that the French-Canadians remained Canadians before everything. In certain quarters they cannot understand this mentality. If this fight continues, if instead of treating us as partners, they persist in maligning us, in considering us as the plague spot of confederation, an obstacle to the union, progress, and development of the country, that can have but one result: the breaking of the confederation pact. Nobody can seriously argue that if the spirit of the constitution is not respected the mere letter of the contract is enough to maintain the association. Our compatriots in Ontario, since this motion was presented, asked us to forget the fight that they have waged upon us and to unite for the working out of our destinies.

To bring about this reunion of the races, we have gone to the extreme limit of conciliation and of concessions. Sometimes we have even made sacrifices at the expense of our acquired rights and our legitimate pride. We have not got credit for it. Especially during the last twenty five years, we have faithfully tried every means of bringing about this indispensable union and cementing it. Just when we thought our efforts crowned with success, when we believed that peace and harmony were established on a firm foundation, when we could at last, forgetting quarrels, work only for

the progress and development of the country, evil passions, prejudice, and hatred appeared once more, and, like a plague destroyed the crop we were about to reap.

TO LIVE AND LET LIVE

They have said that in presenting this motion we were acknowledging ourselves discouraged, and even beaten, that the time was badly chosen for reminding this province of the position she occupies just now. We have been told, further, that in putting forward the problem in this way we ran the risk of still further arousing against us those who have been fighting us for years. We wished to express the sentiment of the very great majority of our people who are tired of being treated in this manner and who think that the time has come either to stop these futile struggles or to accept their logical consequences. This resolution gives notice to her detractors that if the province of Quebec is in the way in Confederation she is ready to discuss the matter and accept her responsibility. She did not want this extreme recourse, but she has never faltered at any sacrifice when her honor was at stake.

The natural conclusion we find summarized in the words of one of our compatriots which we should recall and apply to the whole country : "Let us stop these fratricidal struggles, let us unite !" Otherwise we run the risk of seeing the work of fifty years hopelessly compromised

A newspaper of United-States, in speaking some days ago of the situation in the province of Quebec, asked what was the real desire of the French-Canadians. What we want is TO LIVE AND LET LIVE *To live* observing not only the letter of the constitution but its spirit more particularly ; to live according to our tastes, our temperament and our mentality ; to live as free citizens, conscious of our duties and careful of our responsibilities ; to live working for the progress and development of our province convinced that in this way we are assuring the progress and development of the country ; to live preserving our language, our faith our traditions, our institutions and our laws : to live, in a word, as loyal Canadians devoted to the british crown. *Let Live* ! To respect among others those things we demand that they respect among us ; to recognize the liberty they wished to enjoy

in the exercice of their acquired rights ; to let them speak and teach their language, retain their faith and their traditions, and even to struggle with them, if it is necessary, for the defense of this heritage which they hold as dear as we..... It is in this way that we will become in real truth a Canadian nation, in which will reign that "great solidarity, made up, it has been said, of the sentiment of sacrifices that have been made and of those that we are disposed to make still." We can then be protected against the causes of ruin that threatened us internally at the same time that we see danger from without. We will then have not only the outward semblance of a nation whose material interest are its only bond, but we will form a nation by the true union of hearts and souls. (Loud applause.)

Why not realize this ideal ? While our soldiers on the soil of France are fighting heroically for liberty and civilization, respect of treaties and constitutions, the independence and autonomy of nations, we here should cease giving the spectacle of struggles that have their origin in the negation of these principles. We must be worthy of the supreme sacrifice of these heroes. Their death is the greatest lesson in patriotism. Let us profit by it !

Long applause, which were particularly loud on a few benches.

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SAUVE, ARTHUR (Two Mountains). S. of French-Canadian parents B. Oct. 3, 1875, at St. Hermas. Ed. Seminary of Ste. Thérèse. M. Oct. 3, 1899, to Miss Marie Louise Lachaine, of St. Benoit. A journalist. Was president of Clubs Girouard and Morin; was secretary of Club Cartier and dir. of Club Monk; was pres. of "L'Union des Journalistes" of Montreal. Author of a pamphlet on "St. John Baptist Celebration"; was sec. of the edit. staff of *La Patrie* upon the late Israel Tarte's death; is editor in chief of *Le Canadien*. First elec. to Legis. Assem. at g.e., 1908; re-elec. g.e., 1912 and g.e., 1916. A [illegible] St. Benoit, Two Mountains.

ARTHUR SAUVÉ

Member for Two Mountains.

Mr. Speaker :

The debate on the motion of the hon. member for Lotbinière will have a ringing echo that will resound throughout the world. That is to intimate the extent of its gravity. It is also to confess how much prudence and wisdom should enligthen each of our words. Exaggerations of speech are never fitting, but they would be still less so in a debate such as this. Appeals to prejudice have been and still are the spring drained by exploiters of popular sentiments who wish to achieve success. That is a criminal proceeding that has too often been employed in Canada, and that must by all means be avoided in a debate of so great consequence. We have no Journal of Debates to report exactly what we say in this House. Our friends of the press will then endeavor all the more to analyse our speeches carefully.

My position is one of the greatest difficulty. I belong to a party that is not in favor in my province, although I am neither Tory nor Imperialist. I insist on making this declaration in all frankness and sincerity, so that no false interpretation may be given my speech. I have declared many times, and I declare again that I am of the Liberal school of Lafontaine, Morin, Cartier and Chapleau. I am such after having studied their principles and their immortal works. I belong to the Conservative party founded by Morin, Taché and Cartier on the ramparts that they built in concert with Lafontaine. The Liberal-Conservative alliance was the triumph of the ideas o Lafontaine and the extinction of Tory fanaticism. The French Canadians who accepted this fruitful alliance made no compromise with fanaticism. They accepted this alliance because their program was adopted by allies who understood that their fanaticism could never preside over the great destinies of Canada. And again to day I repeat what I said with the Con-

servative organs in 1910 : "Those of the Tories who wish to return to the ideas that prevailed before 1854 do not respect the McNab-Morin alliance, and we cannot march side by side with those who, by their insults and their actions, proclaim themselves enemies of the French-Canadians". However, the Tories are not all fanatics. There are among them, as among our fellow-citizens of other origins, patriots and just men.

I am a French-Canadian and I intend to remain a French-Canadian, with the same patriotic spirit and the same national aspirations as animated my political ancestors. Thus I proclaim myself, not to seek popular favor, but simply because the blood that flows in my veins is not yellow water, but a blood that cannot lie, a blood that has made martyrs and heroes, a blood that has made a people whose epic can be compared only to those of the great nations of the world.

After this declaration of faith I approach the question which has been so strangely put to us by the hon. member for Lotbinière. This motion is so complicated that it is quite difficult to grasp its meaning and scope, even after the explanatory speech of its eloquent author.

Do the supporters of this motion want separation? Should they wish or desire this separation? That is the question that has been asked everywhere since notice of this motion was given.

Allowing for the overexcitement of the aftermath of the electoral cyclone, I have stated that in my humble opinion this motion was inopportune and dangerous. Inopportune, because it could have no practical result, and dangerous, because it might set loose a new storm of revolting prejudices and disastrous denunciations.

After the elections I think we should have given time to the great old man who represents his province in Parliament, and to the other best authorized leaders of our race, to carefully examine the situation, clear the ground and seek the key to our position. Accordingly I was amazed to find that not one of these leaders was willing to approve such a movement. If this question was to be brought up at all, it should have been brought up in the Parliament of Canada. There we would have been able to find out whether the majority in the country desired our isolation and the breaking of the Confederation. Otherwise

how will we find out? Why speak of separation in the Legislature of Quebec? It is the Federal Parliament that, with the consent of the Imperial Government, has power to dissolve Confederation.

Has the Confederation Act been amended since the session of 1916? No. Does not the federal constitution accord us now, as in the past, our full autonomy, the same powers as were conferred on us in 1867? Yes. When the notice of motion was given, had we lost the slightest title of our administrative powers? No. Had we still our unique system of judicature? Yes. Had notice been given that at the next session of the federal Parliament an amendment to the constitution would be proposed to restrict our rights and powers in the Province of Quebec? No. What then is the raison d'être of the motion of the hon. member for Lotbinière?

It is said: "We have exhausted our patience in allowing ourselves to be insulted in the grossest manner without any provocation". Is it the majority in the country that treats us so? If that were the case, how could the Liberal organs maintain that the great majority in the country share the views and politics of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who preaches conciliation? If the majority in the country is loyal and fair, why separate?

I recognize the fact that we have fierce enemies, and I despise them in the degree that they are detestable and guilty, whether they be Tories or Grits. But, in common with Laurier and others, I have confidence in the spirit of justice of the majority in the country. The thing to do is to organize to enlighten them, to post them thoroughly on our actions, to avoid leading them into error by political ambitions, by unconsidered moves, and to defend our rights where and when they may be attacked. These rights are sacred and we should avoid flavoring them with all the sauces of petty politics. Let us not permit ourselves to confound the real champions of our rights with their exploiters, and our race will triumph. It is not undergoing its first trials. It has overcome its greatest difficulties by moderation and political diplomacy, and not by acts of incendiaries and dynamiters.

Since the cession of Canada to England we have lived under six regimes. The first three, 1760, 1763 and 1841, were tyrannical. The Imperial act of 1791, prepared by the illustrious

Pitt, divided the country into two provinces, so as to allow the Canadians, so said the great English statesman, to enjoy their institutions in the territory assigned to them: Upper Canada for the English and Lower Canada for the French-Canadians. In 1841, they wanted to undo the work of Pitt and decree that Lower and Upper Canada should form a single province. That was the work of Lord Durham, carried on by Thompson, and their predecessors, Craig and Richmond, had tried to impose it before. "Lower Canada must be ruled from now on by an English population," Durham had written. Legislative union was the great means suggested.

Like that of to day, at Ottawa, the Cabinet of 1841 was composed of Tories and Reformers. Certain English of to day cherish prejudices of former times. After Charles Bagot, Metcalfe came to the country. Lafontaine saw all the danger, but also a remedy in the recognition of responsible government. He dit not want to break the windows. He preferred to look for political alliances to assure the triumph of the cause of the French-Canadians. He was denounced as having sold himself to England, but insults did not prevent him from pursuing his aim.

A certain English press said at that time : "The die is cast. One of the two races, English or French, must disappear. We are provoked at the perfidy of Lafontaine who has at last thrown off his mask, and who, in a word, is not much better than Papineau".

On its side, the Pays, the organ of the Liberal followers of Papineau, said : "Lafontaine is retiring merely because he has abandoned all hope of continuing his system of oppression on the rights of the people, of encroachment on the privileges of the Crown, and increasing the prerogatives of the Crown. The Journal of Quebec has learned its Conservative ideas in the school of the Baldwins and Lafontaines".

Does not that prove that, in those times as to-day, there were bad judgments and black injustices?

Important changes to our advantage were brought about under the Act of Union, among others, indemnity for the victims of 1837, abolition of Seigneurial tenure, recognition of French as one of the official languages, building canals on the St. Lawrence, construction of the Grand Trunk, which was to

extend from the south west boundary of Upper Canada to Québec. The provinces came to a better understanding with each other, thus paving the way for the realization of the great project of confederation. William Lyon Mackenzie who opposed Robert Baldwin was the cause of the latter's retirement although certain reformers blamed it on his alliance with Lafontaine.

Then came the Liberal-Conservative alliance brought about by McNab and Morin, the Tories of Upper Canada, headed by McNab and John Macdonald, accepting the Lafontaine-Baldwin program as carried on by Hinks and Morin. Canada looked forward to expansion. These aspirations soared. The aim was to concentrate in a single administration, directed by a government responsible to the people, all the general interests, while leaving the provinces full freedom to protect their private interests, agriculture, colonization, education and administration of lands. This project was submitted to Parliament 3rd February, 1865 by the Prime Minister, Taché. Lower Canada obtained complete autonomy. The Province of Quebec preserved her judicial system, her French law, all that was needed to assure our race its survival, its expansion, its vitality, its rights and its traditions.

Since that time Canada has developed rapidly, as all will admit. Our waterways and railways form means of transport of the first order. Our trade reached the billion mark in 1915. In our province, during the last few years, public works were constructed to the extent of hundreds of millions. Our Federal subsidy was increased by a million dollars in 1906. As Federal subsidy for agriculture, by virtue of the agricultural instruction Act adopted by the Federal Parliament in 1913, our province will receive $805,414.49. A French Canadian was Prime Minister of Canada for fifteen years. He is still the leader of his party in the House of Commons. We have had as many as four French Canadian ministers in the Dominion Government. If we have none to day it is not the fault of the Constitution, it is because our province does not want them. We have a Senate presided over in turn by a French Canadian and one of the English language. French Canadians or Acadians form part of the governments of Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. We had one in the Ontario

government. He would be there yet if he had not been defeated by his own compatriots, as was also the case in Manitoba. An Acadian is Prime Minister of Prince Edward Island.

THE MAIN TROUBLE

The invincible obstacle is the school question in the English provinces, the source of all our race quarrels. Since Confederation, it broke out first in New Brunswick in 1873. After agitation and violence, it was declared by the Privy Council that the schools of New Brunswick had never had legal existence. They had lived through the tolerance of power. The Privy Council justified Cartier who had refused to have the Federal Parliament disallow the Act passed by the Legislature of New-Brunswick. To the French-Canadians who denounced him Cartier replied :

"You should never ask the Federal Government to intervene in provincial affairs. Do you not see that you propose to establish, for the benefit of our friends in the neighboring province, a precedent that may some day be invoked against us."

I find this information in the eulogistic book on Sir Wilfrid Laurier :

"That was the reason of state, the sovereign reason that spoke by the mouth of Cartier. He was urged to gather up the lightning that might have burst over our heads. He was asked to open the doors of the citadel, that the enemy might come in. At that time nobody understood his courage and his perspicacity, and his conduct in the school question had a terrible effect on his popularity. But a statesman too coward to resist a blind popular movement thereby descends to the level of the politician more eager to assure his re-election than to perform his duty."

Such are the reflections that I find under the pen of Laurier's panegyrist. Let us quote another important passage from this interesting book :

"When Manitoba became an integral part of Confederation in 1871, Cartier, taught by experience, wished to avoid all possible dangers and protect the Catholics from every injustice. The constitution given this province and prepared by Cartier guaranteed the Catholics their rights in the most formal manner. The spirit and letter of the law seemed to unite to mount

guard against the enemy. Alas, how short and vain are human preoccupations in the face of men in possession of strength and determined to go to any length! Twenty years later a stroke of the pen ground into powder ramparts powerful enough, it seemed, to defy any attack. In fact, the Act passed in 1891 suppressed the guarantees granted by the Constitution by according money votes to public schools only.

"This Act, attacked before the courts of Manitoba, emerged with all the honors of war. According to the tribunal it did not violate the constitution. The Supreme Court of Canada deemed otherwise and unanimously declared that the Act of 1891 should not figure on the Statute Books of the Province. As if contradictions had to follow one another in cause celebre, the appeal entered by Manitoba from this latter decision succeeded before the Privy Council of London. The question seemed to be closed and finally adjudicated. However the Catholics wished to make a final effort to obtain justice. The same Privy Council, to which they submitted their grievances, decided that although the Manitoba law was constitutional, the Catholics of that province had nevertheless a just complaint, a grievance that had to be remedied. From this judgment arose the bill, called the Remedial Bill, presented by the Tupper Government in the session of 1896, and which the Opposition of the time did not wish to accept. This bill created an entirely new system of Catholic schools to be imposed on the province to which the law was distasteful. The Tupper Government did not exceed its power from the point of view of the Constitution which authorized this extreme and perilous measure. But was that not a case in which it was wrong to be right and in which the supreme exercise of a right became worse than the bad it was to correct?".

I merely cite the author without commenting or expressing a personal opinion. I will continue to quote the Liberal point of view :

"Was it not the same thing to establish a school system independent of the Government in our domain as to create a state within the state, to place two enemies face to face to each other, without any means of preventing the mischief? Was it not also for the province of Quebec to incur the same danger of which Cartier warned it? Was it not establishing

the precedent of a federal intervention dangerous to provincial autonomy? It is known that Sir Charles Tupper withdrew his bill because the Opposition barred the way with invincible obstacles. The legal light of Parliament was drawing to its end and the Opposition remained as strong as ever threatening to carry on obstruction to the very last hour. The stubbornness of Manitoba, identical with the two political parties, made a compromise absolutely necessary. It was brought about through the influence of Sir Wilfrid who caused religious instruction to be conceded on certain conditions."

Such are the remarks made by the speaker on the school question. That is the Liberal point of view, the view of the party to which I believe the hon. member for Lotbinière belongs. I wanted to quote that passage at length because I knew it summarized the views of the immense majority in this House.

By separation our compatriots in the other provinces would be smothered. I repeat, our race quarrels since Confederation have been brought about not because the rights of our province have been ignored, but because of the school question in the other provinces The rights guaranteed our province by the constitution have never been attacked. Why separation? If separated will we be any stronger to protect our compatriots of the West ?

Separation is then contrary to our national interests and also contrary to our economic interests, because if separated we would be subjected to heavy obligations, which would prevent us from developing. We would be obliged to repay a part of the debt of the country and our economic organization would impose upon us a task too heavy for us.

After the school struggle of the new provinces of the West came those of Ontario, directed by a Conservative Government, and of Manitoba governed by a Liberal government. In Ontario a new rule restricts the teaching of French. The Ontario government maintains that no provision in the Act of Union or the Confederation Act legalizes the teaching of French. This teaching was tolerated In Manitoba the government absolutely abolished the teaching of French. The Libera Opposition at Ottawa supported a resolution, the Lapointe resolution, which aimed to compel the Federal Government to intervene in this struggle. That revived the race quarrel in Canada. They

did not dare do anything against Manitoba. The Privy Council decided rather in favor of the Ontario Government

Is it not logical, after reading the passages from Laurier's panegyric, to ask ourselves why the Liberal opposition presented the Lapointe resolution? The Provincial elections were fought with the cry: "Down with the traitors and the bought men who voted against this resolution." Since that time nothing more has been heard of it

AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

The race quarrel sprang up again when the Military Service Act, 1917, was presented. That is an Act that is general for the whole country. It does not affect the Province of Quebec especially. Everybody knows what a storm it set loose through out Canada at a time when there was the greatest need of cooperation on the part of all the citizens to bring about the production so urgently called for. Never did violence of language reach such a pitch. A race war set loose the most unfortunate passions I have been and I still am against conscription, not as a French Canadian, but as a citizen of the country, believing that this measure was and is of a nature to paralyze our production and ruin our young economic organization, and also believing that we can better serve the cause of the Allies by working to obtain the super-production that the authorities of the Allied countries demand with so much insistence I dit not oppose this measure because I cherished anti-british sentiments. Far from that, I respected and I still respect those who are sincere and decent advocates of conscription I condemn hatred of England as much as hatred of French Canadians, and I am sorry that England is confused with the fanatics of the country as much as I regret that these fanatics confuse a whole race with political exploiters or well-meaning but violent compatriots.

In view of approaching elections the majority in Parliament passed a War Times Elections Act, depriving citizens of the country of their right to vote and granting the franchise to people who have never taken part in the economic work of Canada, knowing nothing whatever of our laws, our obligations and our aspirations. The result of the election maintained the Government in power. The party led by Sir Wilfrid Laurier

holds that this result does not express the sentiment of the normal electorate of the country. Whatever may be said, our province is not the refuge of rebels.

The number of requests for military exemption as well as the number of those who refuse to respond to the call of the military authorities proves that of all the provinces, Quebec has obeyed the law the best. Here is a table of official figures in support of my statement, a table furnished by the director of information and officer of the Government.

RECRUITS BETWEEN 20 AND 34 YEARS

	Called.	Reported.	P.C.	Failed To report.	P.C.
Quebec	123,831	117,104	95	6,727	5
Nova Scotia	35,610	26,354	74	9,256	26
New Brunswick	23,370	17,065	73	6,205	27
P. E. Island	6,706	4,425	66	2,281	34
Saskatchewan	70,571	46,733	66	23,838	34
Ontario	201,400	125,750	62	75,650	38
Alberta	53,979	28,105	54	25,874	46
Manitoba	48,626	22,879	47	25,747	53
British Columbia	70,354	15,284	22	54,533	78
Yukon	1,705	159			
Unclassified	594				
Total	636,746				

According to military statistics the anti-conscriptionist sentiment, stripped of all prejudice, is more clearly shown in Ontario than in Quebec. The Liberal party concludes that this law which caused so much animosity in the whole country, is still a cause of social and economic disorder. Taking into account the attitude of the Liberal party and its provincial leader in the last elections, I conclude that, to be logical, it is not the breaking of Confederation that the member for Lotbinière or the Government should attempt, but rather the repeal of the Military Service Act.

This right of appeal is conferred on us by article 56, of the British North America Act which authorizes us to petition. (See Bourinot, third edition, page 354, and fourth edition, page 240).

The Prime Minister will permit me to tell him that his violently denunciatory conduct in the course of the elections contradicted the strange silence that he went abroad to maintain during all the time that this law was being discussed in parliament. Was it not when the Act was introduced in the Federal Parliament that the Prime Minister should have employed all the resources of his talent and prestige to prevent its being passed. While his compatriots were asking for his influence, the Prime Minister went away with lips sealed to enjoy an agreeable rest, far from the tumult, in a real little paradise. He returned when conscription was in force and when Sir Wilfrid Laurier had declared that the law must be obeyed. Some time later he protested most violently against this measure which he described as revolting. He announced the coming of a Cromwell. A Cromwell is still more terrible than a Prime Minister of the province of Quebec, even in the twentieth century. Hume said that Cromwell began with fanaticism and ended with hypocrisy.

"In this ambitious man", he adds, "we find a strange mixture of greatness and baseness, of cunning and enthusiasm, of generosity and cruelty, of tolerance and fanaticism, and perhaps he has deserved all the praise and all the reproach that have been heaped upon him."

Later the Prime Minister declared with vehemence that no power in the world could impose a law on a people when they did not want it.

For my part I do not know how badly they need soldiers at the front, not knowing the situation exactly. But the Prime Minister was posted on this situation by the leader of the Government of Canada, who invited him to join his war cabinet. It was after more than one meeting with Sir Robert Borden that the Prime Minister of the province of Quebec became so violent against the Federal Government and took an active part in the electoral fight, contrary to his past since 1908. It was after having been posted on the situation that the Prime

Minister made the rousing statement so much applauded by his many admirers.

It was not only the province of Quebec that expressed disagreement. Newspapers in London and Canada also disapproved of this Act.

The operation of this act and its exploitation by military employees, lawyers and judges are more dangerous and more unjust than the law itself, whose principle is much less debatable than its timeliness and practicability. The threat of a Cromwell by the Prime Minister caused a sensation. (Called to order by the Speaker). The sonorous word had its effect.

It was almost tantamount to announcing a revolt, and one could already see the terrible Cromwell coming through the shades evoked by the Prime Minister. Was the Prime Minister moved by conviction when he used such language? Why did he speak so violently? Since the elections, his organs continue to denounce conscription as the most [illegible], the most revolting, and the most ruinous law that was ever seen.

Speaking of the gravity of the agricultural situation, the Hon. Minister of Agriculture, declared last Tuesday in open committee, "that it was impossible to increase production and at the same time carry on out and out militarism." There is no let up then to discouraging the citizens of the country, some by pushing too far the interpretation of the law, and others by [illegible] that law as the cause of our greatest ills and of the [illegible] our doors.

If the Prime Minister is convinced as to the truth of what he has told the country through his organs and his lieutenants, why, instead of allowing the discussion of a motion which has no bearing except to lead our compatriots into error and belittle [illegible] the other provinces and abroad, and, since he had permitted the discussion of the motion in this House, why, I ask, did not the Prime Minister propose or have somebody propose to this House that we respectfully ask our esteemed Sovereign to repeal the law which, according to the declarations of the Liberal party, is causing the disorder from which we suffer so greatly? Does not the Military Service Act affect the administration of our province?

If our respected Sovereign rejects our appeal, impelled by the interest he feels in his glorious Empire, we would respect-

fully submit, promising to serve him, as ever, loyally and faithfully. And the Liberal party would then cease to denounce this act as revolting.

Does not the verdict of Australia give us all the more right to take such action?

AN AMENDMENT

Wishing to find out how much conviction was behind the conduct of the Prime Minister and his colleagues in the last election, not with any desire of gaining a personal advantage, and well aware that political prejudice would deprive me of the influence necessary to have it passed myself, I went, in company with my hon. colleague from Lake St. John, to ask the Leader of the Province if he would have any objection to presenting himself the following amendment, the substance of which I communicated to him:

"That all the words after Quebec in the main motion be struck out and replaced by the following: "In view of the marked hostility shown to her by certain leading spirits of the provinces situated to the west of the capital of our country, and the insults daily hurled at her by the great newspapers which mould or direct public opinion in those provinces, and in consequence of the adverse attitude taken by the immense majority of the electorate of Quebec and by a considerable number of citizens of other parts of our country on the subject of the Military Service Act, 1917, and the Acts arising out of it, deems it its duty in the interests of the peace and harmony which should reign in the different provinces of the Canadian Confederation, to apply to His Majesty the King in Council to request him, in virtue of clause 55 of the British North America Act, to disallow the Military Service Act, 1917, this Act being the cause of contention between the Provinces and placing in danger the interests of Confederation itself, and those of the British Empire of which we are ever the loyal subjects. And that the Speaker of this House is authorized by these presents to sign the petition requesting His Majesty the King in Council to disallow the aforesaid act, which petition is to be transmitted to His Excellency the Governor General to be, by him, addressed in the usual manner to His Majesty."

The Prime Minister refused this amendment which I proposed to him for the purpose of finding out whether he believed in the gravity of the denunciation that he uttered against this law. He is perhaps right, but if he is right today he was wrong yesterday. Is it not time to find out with whom we are dealing? Is it not time to find out the sincerity of our public men? Is it not time to reply to those who say : "Poor compatriots! How you are always the victims of clever exploitation!" These other words : "Your enemies are not where you think they are. Your enemies are not at your doors. They are within your walls and you acclaim them."

From the moment that this amendment cannot be accepted by the Chief of the majority, it is useless to present it since it would not succeed.

Mr. Speaker, I have done my duty. I will not seek for any political advantage. I have no press devoted to me, obliged to sing my praises. I ask but one thing of the free press, and we will see to morrow what free press we have, and that is to report my words faithfully. I ask them to comment honestly on my conduct. And, if the people wish to continue to follow the Prime Minister, as for me, I will continue to serve my Province.

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DAVID, LOUIS ATHANASE, LL.B., K.C. (Terrebonne). B. June 25, 1885, at Montreal, Que. S. of Laurent Oliver David, French-Canadian, and Albina Chenet, also French-Canadian. Ed. at St. Mary's Coll. and Mount St. Louis (degree LL.B.). M. Nov. 3, 1908, to Antonia Nantel, dau. of Hon. G. A. Nantel, of Montreal. Children: Simone, Laurent Nantel, Madeleine. An advocate. Member of the firm of Elliott, David and Mailhiot. A mem. of the Reform Club and Canadian Club. First elected to legis. at g.e., 1916. A Liberal. A Roman Catholic. 189 St. James Street, Montreal, Que.

ATHANASE DAVID

Member for Terrebonne

Mr. Speaker

A little more that fifty years ago men whose names history has recorded met in inter-provincial conferences, representatives of all the provinces of Canada.

Their aim was to give Canada a constitution which, they hoped, would concentrate individual efforts and make all join in a common effort tending to the development, prosperity and greatness that they already foresaw for our country.

This Confederation project had aroused lively opposition, especially in Nova Scotia and Quebec, and the representatives of these two provinces requested that before it was accepted and sanctioned, this constitution should be submitted to the people by means of a referendum.

I do not think it would be of use to enter into a discussion of the reasons that lead Howe, the accredited representative of Nova Scotia, to oppose the pact of 1867, but it is important to consider one of the reasons that more particularly lead a great part of the French-Canadian youth of 1865, 1866, and 1867 to oppose the plan of this new constitution. They foresaw that sooner or later the French-Canadian representation would be powerless, on account of its fixed number of sixty-five members, to battle successfully against the representatives of the other provinces, whose number would increase through the fact of an intensive immigration that could not fail to head for the English provinces.

I will not say that this was the strongest reason for the opposition, but it is the one that now seems to be the most justified by the course of present events.

It was only after the greatest efforts on the part of the statesmen of the time, in our province especially on the part of Sir George Etienne Cartier, aided by the almost unanimous support of the Catholic Clergy, that Quebec resigned herself to accept not without murmurings, this new plan for the government of Canada by a central power.

So we have now the case of a contract signed with enthusiasm by one of the parties, and with hesitation by the other, but the contracting parties however had appeared to place in the terms so much good faith, that it would have then seemed unreasonable to persist, and to refus a belief in the good faith of the majority in this country.

The declarations of the Parliamentarians of the time had convinced some of our public men that Confederation was a means of obtaining a greater independence for the present and full independence for the future. Guided by this hope and confident as to this future the parties clasped hand the day the pact was signed forgetting the struggles of the past in marking out for Canada the path she should follow if she wished to attain the greatness dreamed for her by the Fathers of Confederation.

Why did it have to be that in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation we should see this Constitution shaken to its very foundations, the provinces aroused one against the other, individuals fired by a fanaticism that should be extinguished, and in a word, our country agitated from the Pacific coast to the Atlantic ?

I have put a question, but I confess that I do not enjoy having to discuss the answer. However, I do not think I should forego the obligation incumbent on every Canadian citizen today, whatever his origin or his religious faith, to express frankly and openly what he thinks. Let us not forget that now is the time to determine what are to be the future destinies of our countr . We are at the crossroads, and that future depends on the route which we accept as being in our judgment the one that will the best permit us to reach our goal. What renders the choice difficult is that our country contains the non-assimilable elements of two races, absolutely distinct in origin, temperament and character, and the time being, unhappily, in mentality as well

It is in this difference of mentality that we must look for the reasons for the failure of Confederation *today*.

CONFEDERATION WAS NECESSARY.

It seems to me that is only rendering justice to those who made Confederation to say that the hope of the majority of them was to develop by this centralization of power, harmony, peace,

and concord between the Atlantic provinces, and the provinces of Quebec, of Ontario and of the West, that these united by a single ambition and a single commercial interest, might join their efforts to bring about the greatest measure of industrial, commercial and intellectual development. Further, their declaration as regards the perfect autonomy that our country was to enjoy and that they said was determined by the very text of the constitution, satisfied the aspirations of those who placed the interest of Canada above everything. For these, between this satisfaction and the realization of their aim to become a nation enjoying perfect political and national autonomy, there was only the distance that separates an evident conclusion from a well-propounded premise.

It has been said and affirmed that what makes the greatness of a people, or more exactly, that the elements necessary to the greatness of a people, are a large territory, a great population, but also a vast interior navigation and a sea coast on which there can be developed great harbours capable of accommodating powerful fleets so that trade may pursue its course without interruption during the twelve months of the year.

No doubt if we recognize the justice of this proposition, and if we accept these four elements as necessary to greatness, the addition to the Provinces of Quebec and Ontario of the Atlantic provinces with their immense harbors and their splendid sea coast on the Atlantic was a factor which added to the national wealth and which made it not only desirable but necessary from the point of view of the common interest.

The West with its immense prairies wherefrom the grain supply would be secured and railway lines could cross in every direction was an asset that a country in process of formation had no right to refuse.

Quebec offered the bond of union between these provinces of the West and those of the Atlantic mainly thanks to the St. Lawrence which during the greater part of the year is the great highway along which passes the trade of Europe and along which would roll before long the wheat and grain of the West.

Ontario with her industrial development and her great international lakes offered a vast system of interior navigation, which completed the elements deemed necessary for the greatness of Canada.

Indeed, from the strictly commercial point of view, what would the West do during the five months of the year when the St. Lawrence is covered with ice, if the harbors of St. John and Halifax did not offer their security to our ocean trade, just as during those months when it is free from the shackles of winter, the St. Lawrence, by cutting down the cost of transportation, serves as a powerful asset in the realization of Canadian wealth.

A CANADIAN MENTALITY.

It must be admitted that these were reasons sufficient to compel men of that time to wish for this union, or, after having refused it, to accept it when it was decided upon. It was an effort for harmony, for concord, but also an effort towards the development of a Canadian mentality, that was attempted in 1867 by the Statesmen who drew up, proposed and put through Confederation. They had on their side this argument, that the union of Quebec and Ontario had become intolerable from the political standpoint, owing to the instability of the governments and the continual agitation in which the two provinces found themselves. They had besides, from the commercial point of view, the argument that Confederation offered the indications of an organization containing within itself the germs of a certain development, an assured prosperity, and a greatness easy to predict.

Thus, after having fought with a vigor and perseverance that we must admire, Dorion and his friends the opponents of this project, when they found themselves defeated, that is to say, when in spite of their opposition the pact had been signed, believing that the lot of the vanquished in politics as well as in war, was to make the best of the position created by the change, endeavored with an admirable moderation and tolerance to preserve the sympathy and good will of those making up the majority, but who nevertheless in no manner begrudged the French-Canadian minority its rights while entertaining for it a profound respect and a sincere sympathy.

Far be it from me to think of citing the period that followed the adoption of the British North America Act as a period free from any conflict or any difficulty between the Province of Quebec and the other provinces of Confederation, but I am pleased to draw from the history of the last fifty years that the problems

which arose and agitated our country in the first twenty years took on a purely Canadian character, and if sometimes, too often, alas, for us, religious or political fanaticism showed itself, all attachment and sympathy had not disappeared when calm was re-established. That was the period when a group of statesmen representing our race gave it power and prestige. It was also the period when the English provinces were represented by men best able to understand our state of mind and to judge it. So the understanding between them was easy, for in the high spheres of intellectuality, as in those of science and philosophy friendships are easily created, and sympathies as easily born.

Unfortunately these politico-religious problems arose too often in our country. Let no one, I pray, take this declaration as a condemnation of those who were the cause of this fact, but only as a mere statement that in their periodical recurrence we will find the germ of prejudice, the germ of a union againt us of the English majorities in the other provinces.

What has saved us up to today is that at every crisis men who did not share our religious beliefs, who were not of our origin, were willing to fight on our side for the principles which we wished to prevail, for the liberties we wished to have respected. Unhappily the number of these friendships diminished in proportion to the frequency of the problems, and slowly, insensibly, for a political purpose, there was created this perverse, fatal doctrine, cause of the disunion that exists today, that we wished to affirm French domination in this country.

What error, what absurdity, and why had we for fifty years, in order to avoid national crises, had to accept compromises, conclude ententes, abandon fragments of our rights, only to arrive at such a result, such a doctrine? It seems to me that we never affirmed anything but our right to certain privileges the granting of which we have for a long time attributed to the generosity of our English compatriots, and for this, England, British institutions and our English compatriots had no more sincere and frank admirers than the Canadians of Quebec.

Why have they, for the purpose of affirming an Imperialist doctrine, made out of whole cloth the spectre of French domination? Need I, Sir, tell you that this conception of our ideals is of

quite recent invention, and that in the first period of the federated government never a politician from an English province dared make such a statement in public, for he would at once have found other men in those provinces with the courage to rise and point out the absurdity of the proposition. And that is the cause that, modestly withal, I assign to the precarious position in which Canada is today, that the Canadian mentality in the English provinces is afraid to show itself unless it wishes to come into conflict and to expose those who preserve and retain it to ostracism by those who wish to substitute for it the Imperialist mentality.

I still believe, in spite of the immense wave that seems to menace our country, and which for nearly twenty years was kept in check by a man in whom history will recognize a wisdom that his contemporaries often failed to see, even taking it for a desertion of his principles. I believe, I say, that the wave will pass, and that the reaction caused by its passing will revive in the provinces, of whom it is useless today to ask any calm or collected thought, a great desire to mould once more in our country a mentality in keeping with its aspirations and destiny.

That Quebec has become for the moment the target on which is focussed every effort and every attack, have we the reason to be surprised ? Our mentality, our understanding of Canadian duty, prevent us at the present time from joining in the chorus of enthusiasm of the provinces which place before Canada the interests of the Empire. What a splendid opportunity our attitude offers to those whose highest thought is power in the country, and for whom domination is a necessity so that their great enterprises may retain a monopoly, and the war may continue to profit them, those men who have been exploiting the country for four years. This opportunity has been seized, and they are now profiting by it to unite the English majority against the Canadian minority.

Is it necessary for me to say that this is blameworthy ? Need I state that it is to be condemned ? But so long as politics uses our race to serve its ends we are exposed to endure this manner of reaction, while we aid parties to attain power, or help cause their defeat.

WE HAVE DONE OUR DUTY

Everything has been turned to account for the purpose of serving the interests of which I spoke. I do not intend here to retry the case of Canadian politics since the beginning of the war I do not intend to defend my compatriots any more than my province. I believe that having acted as we have acted, animated purely and simply by a desire to avoid placing in danger the economic future of our country, the national future of our race, we have done our duty by not sacrificing in a war, which interests us however from the moral point of view as much as any other nation in the world, the men necessary to our agricultural and industrial development, and by not permitting one hundred and fifty years of effort for the preservation of our strength of action in this part of America where Providence has placed us to be diminished, ruined, shattered so that after the war our depleted province would be no longer able to carry on the traditions that we have accepted as our duty to perpetuate. (Applause).

We have done no more than follow the line of conduct indicated for us by our Canadian mentality which, inspiring us to develop our economic strength, permitted us to be a powerful auxiliary of the Allied armies. If for that we are taxed with disloyalty, if we are insulted, if we are decried, truly, Sir, they must have forgotten the history of our country and of our race.

It has been pretended that we care nothing for the flag of England. They have gone so far as to declare in certain quarters that we have no respect, no loyalty for it. Will you permit me, Sir, to reply, in all frankness, to this statement that they have been pleased to repeat so that little by little there might be created the impression that we are here on the banks of the St. Lawrence a group of rebels who wait but the moment to take up arms.

To the flag of England, all such as we are, we accord the most complete, the most absolute loyalty and the most sincere respect, for it is a duty, and I do not know that a people, even conquered, ever cursed the flag of the conqueror if in its folds it found the liberty it desired, the assured guarantees, and privileges accorded by the treaty under which it submitted. But to make it a duty to a conquered people to love the flag of the conqueror, seems to me to be having a poor understanding of the human soul, for this principle cannot be seriously supported.

Loyalty is a duty, love is a sentiment. If loyalty commands me, the other comes of itself. It cannot be forced, it can be attracted by virtue of goodwill, of sympathy; but never by insulting those upon whom it is imposed can this love be elicited from them. (Applause).

Let me not be misunderstood, I pray, in the statements I have just made. Far be it from me to say here that we have not today as much as in the past a reasoned attachment for the British flag, not because it is the flag of England, but because to us it represents British institutions, which, whatever may be said of the men who administer and reflect them, remain the model of human parliamentary institutions. They have this merit that coming from a people which has won them and paid dearly for them, it maintains over them a hold that no power can break or take away. It may be that in moments of crisis or national or political agitation, institutions controlled by agitators, profiteers or financiers seem to tremble in the balance, but this prove nothing more than that everything human is susceptible of errors, and at times of serving ends to which it was not destined.

Must we not recognize, Sir, that in the past we had in our country the most democratic government that a country could wish, and I believe that in the light of our history, it is still permitted us, when we judge the institutions assured to us by this mode of government, to declare that, in order to be unjust, our Constitution must be violated.

Must we not admit, indeed, that almost every time we have had to complain in the past of the government of our country, and today still more than formerly, what we complain of most bitterly and with the greatest right is that the text of our constitution, and more often still the spirit that inspired it, is brazenly violated by those who use it for their political or personal benefit

Our respect for the Canadian Constitution in the past has been the explanation of our loyalty, for we were not accustomed to believe that a Canadian government could ever ignore it in its dealings with the people. The last Canadian Parliament took upon itself the task of shattering this illusion, and of proving to us once more that human institutions, whatever they may be, of themselves, can serve for the development of those who accept them if they are confided to men capable of understanding and administering them according to the aim that the people wishes to

attain, but can also serve as a toy in the hands of politicians who, to attain their purposes, will not hesitate to violate them.

IMPERIALISM

These violations of our constitution, this direction given our politics varying from that indicated by its institutions, come from outside causes which have gradually influenced our English-Canadian politicians, who accepted as a possibility a pan-Britishism which places the interests of the Empire above those of Canada, and is ready, to attain its goal, to sacrifiy Canada's economic future. To quote the cynically patriotic English phrase published in our country, it is ready to "plunge Canada into bankruptcy if necessary, to save the Empire".

That is the thesis of those who are converted to the doctrine of Charles Dilke, taken up in a form more easy to accept by Joseph Chamberlain, and later propagated by Lord Milner, that the time had come to concentrate the individual efforts of the colonies in a magnificient common effort tending to affirm the world supremacy of the English Empire.

This imperialism introduced into our country the ferment of discord, and from this arise the problems that face us today, problems admirably calculated to divide the races that inhabit it and the provinces that compose it.

While I do not wish to pretend to interpret the opinion of our English compatriots I do not fear to declare that there are still many among them who believe that imperialism is a danger, who do not accept it, and will accept it still less to-morrow, but who for the moment, carried away, some of them by a sincere and ardent patriotism, consider it their duty to aid the Empire in every possible way so that it may not meet a defeat, or a setback, in the present conflict. To such as these, Sir, we must bow. They may, to our point of view, lose touch with our mentality, but can we reproach them for preserving a sincere love for the country they have just left. Others, unfortunately, see in the present struggle and in the accepting of the imperialist doctrine only a means of enriching themselves easily even though in war-time. Let us not attempt to judge this patriotism. Let us leave that task to the future. These are fortunes that do not

reflect honor on those who possess them and sooner or later they will learn this from their compatriots.

But for us, neither of these two reasons could, Sir, even in a time of world crisis, make us accept this deep infiltration of imperialism in Canadian politics. In fact, we believe that there is need for a Canadian mentality How then can we conceive that it can be an advantage to our country to adopt a doctrine whose essential element is to prevent the growth of this Canadian mentality ? How can we conceive the doctrine, that today is the cause of the frightful war which is rending Europe, to be to the advantage of our country ?

Indeed, it is pan-Germanism, German imperialism. We are told that is the immediate cause of the present conflict, and it is the wish to prevent this imperialism from enforcing its power on the world that has grouped against it almost the entire European continent.

May I be permitted to state that imperialism of any kind is a danger to the world, whether Roman, Greek, German or English, or even, bringing the matter closer home, American. It creates in the world an element of power that enslaves the weak, deprives somewhere somebody of his liberties by subduing him to its wishes, by dragging him along in its policy of conquest or spoils, with the simple aim of gain and material interest

Chamberlain was not backward, I may say, in admitting this himself when he said in London, on June 9, 1896 : "The Empire would be merely an immense co-operative society of production and consumption, and England, as holding the founder's shares, would derive the clearest benefits"

We cannot understand the interest our country can have in accepting this thesis of egotism which levies on the small peoples for the greatness and strength of a great one. Indeed were it merely to assure England material benefits, in spite of our repugnance to assure these at the expense of our economic development, our opposition would not perhaps be so stubborn as it is at present. But we know by having read it many times that the ultimate aim of Imperialism is the creation of a council which commercial relations will sooner or later render necessary. Then, as the trade of a great nation must necessarily be protected, all the members who make up this nation or this Empire must contribute to the defence of this trade.

The conclusion is easy to draw. Accepting the principle of commercial imperialism, sooner or later we would have to contribute to the maintenance of a navy able to protect the trade of the Empire.

Would not this be going back one hundred years and becoming a tributary state of Great Britain ? We would no longer be citizens of what we have been proud to consider as a prospective nation. We would be citizens of a colony paying tribute yearly to the mother country. I grant that the ambition of those who wish to enforce this doctrine in the English world reflects an ardent patriotism, and that thought of a great empire on which the sun never sets is an expression of admirable pride. So far so good, but what matter to us this greatness and power if they are brought about through our weakness and enslavement ?

THE FUTURE

Is it perchance to lack loyalty to England to say that the state of a colony's inhabitants cannot be a permanent state, that, at the most, it is a stage in the life of a people, that it is only a transition, the passing from infancy to manhood among nations ? Whoever opens history can convince himself easily on this point. He will see that rare indeed are the countries that have resisted this universal law. In the faroff days of history the colonies of Phœnicia and Greece prove this historical truth, and in modern times the United States, Mexico and Brazil demonstrate it also.

Animated by this supreme thought that we will follow this universal law, and that from the rank of colony we will graduate one day to the rank of the free nations of the world, should we allow the forging of the chains that would prevent us from preparing our future as we should ?

I am not at present a separationist but I believe that our country has now at the present time the right to look forward towards the most perfect measure of autonomy it deems possible and that, in a future which circumstances and time will determine, England will be proud to have given Canada the rank of a free and independent nation. (Applause)

We must never forget that we are living history and that those who come after us will write it. They will be able to relate impartially our acts, and comment on our words, they will bless or curse

us according as we have listened to the inner voice that tells every man, his duty or, remaining deaf to this appeal which is the voice of national conscience, we have directed our politics and our country towards a destiny that Providence did not mark out for it. Ah, I recall that phrase : "Man is agitated and God leads him," but all the same we have no right to hope that this Providence in whom we trust will lead us in the way it foresaw and prepared for us if we refuse to open our eyes, if we do not allow ourselves to be directed by the light it sheds upon us. And the light that the most easily indicates to a people the way it should follow is that which history gives forth when we consult and study. Everything in history points out our role. We are now passing through a transitory stage, we are in the infancy of a people. Let us prepare for our manhood

It might perhaps appear to some that I have lost sight of the subject that we have to discuss, and which led me at the outset to take a rapid glimpse over our Canadian politics since Confederation. However, I declared that what rendered our problems in this country difficult was the fact that it was inhabited by races of distinct origins, different faiths, different mentality. That is why the teachings of history cannot be accepted in our country by the various races in the same manner, and above all with the same facility. Does it not follow that when problems come up which affect our future only those who believe in the destinies of Canada should be entrusted with the solution of these problems ?

How is it to be expected that those who are here only as passing dwellers (en passant) can consider a problem affecting our economic life from the same point of view as do we, the deeply rooted to the country's soil

For the first-mentioned, their native land is not Canada, their home is across the sea, in some mountain of Scotland, or some town of England that they hope to see once more, and where they have preserved their closest bonds. We, wherever we live, on the coast of Gaspé or in the Laurentides, whether we live on the banks of the St. Lawrence or in some humble village far from the cities, our native land is the country in which our forefathers have lived for three hundred years, the country where our little children were born. Our sole ambition, our only hope, our supreme ideal, is to assure the greatness of this country. (Applause)

Oh, let nobody imagine that though splendidly isolated, we do not recognize the duties of extraterritorial relations. Let nobody imagine, that for us England and France do not exist; but our desire to aid them, cannot go so far as to sacrifice the future of Canada in their interests. That is why we do not understand that men who have never seen our country should be called, thanks to a flagrant violation of our Constitution, to pronounce on problems affecting us, and endangering, from our point of view, the political, economic and national life of our country, men who will never come to our shores, who will never know our needs and our situation.

Further, we do not understand why, in a moment of political and national effervescence, with the avowed and openly declared purpose of stifling the voice of electors to whom up to today had been entrusted the solution of our political and national problems, the right to vote was granted to thousands and thousands of electors to whom that right had been refused hitherto.

Nor do we understand why, at the cost of another violation of the Constitution, men who had been induced to come to our country by the declaration on the national honor that the maxim, "Once a British subject, always a British subject", would be respected here, found themselves deprived of the right enjoyed by every British subject, of expressing approval or disapproval of laws, by means of their vote.

Why these violations, this exaggeration ? Did the safety of the country demand them ? Are they taking a leaf from the book of the Girondins, and declaring : "Let the country perish, so long as a principle is saved" ? Does the Imperialist principle demand that Canada be sacrificed for it, or is it not purely and simply because in the opinion of those who share it and accept it as they would the Scripture, the Imperialist doctrine must be imposed in Canada by force, since the Canadian people do not want to accept it gracefully ?

If that is the case and it seems, unhappily for our country, that this is the motive that dictated the violations that I have just referred to briefly, may I be permitted, very modestly and very humbly to declare that works founded on the violation of treaties or constitutions carry in themselves a germ of destruction which will prevent them from attaining their end, and which,

infecting their organism more quickly than might be thought, will lead them to their ruin and disappearance.

Indeed, one cannot do violence to peoples, any more than to individuals, but let the justice innate in man revolt some day, and, without regarding enormous sacrifices and personal interest, make itself felt, and on that day, you know, Sir, nothing can resist the voice of a people satisfied that it has justice on its side. For a certain length of time it is possible to keep it within the limits assigned to it, it is quite possible through fear or thanks to madness to reduce it to an obedience which it endures, just as a slave may be kept by force in his chains, but when that spirit of justice manifests itself in man it cannot be prevented from proclaiming its revolt to the world.

I merely wish to declare this, that the causes of revolt and decadence are practically the same in all works and all empires founded by violence. What the force may bring about today of English Imperialism, the acceptance of militarism, will be tomorrow the cause of its weakness and decadence. Rome resisted the onslaught of her revolting colonies until the day that her soldiers, drunk with glory, refused to recognize the laws of the civil government, and before obeying them, asked the opinion of their generals. I do not hope that England will pass through the tragic days of the Roman decadence, but she is preparing dangerous tomorrows, in creating in her colonies a military caste that at the present time owes its power only to the madness of the people.

In fact, who can say what will be the reaction that will take place in England and her colonies after the war, when, after having bowed in admiration before those who return from the field of battle where they have sustained the effort that their duty inspired them to go to defend, they take stock of their numbers, and decide to become a factor in the political life of England and her colonies. Whither will this reaction lead ? Let us hope that the future to which will be entrusted the answer to this question we can do no more than propound, will be able to solve the problem in the interests of all. But may I be permitted to hope that we will not make the mistake of accepting as a necessity the permanence of that militarism created during the past few years. For a our politics are founded upon, and strongly supported by the democratic principle that we must not have classes among us, an

above all castes. Although the time in which we live has seen them rise up and develop, our hope is that peace will see them disappear, and then our country will regain its deeply democratic character.

Were it not so, and if caste should try to become a permanent power, it would be time for us to say with *Montesquieu* : "There is in every nation a general spirit on which its very strength is founded. When it shocks that spirit it shocks itself, and neccessarily it stops".

There is in the English nation this general spirit of democracy although its government still retains the guise of a monarchy, a constitutional monarchy retained by the people, permitted by the people. But if England shocks this underlying spirit of democracy and seeks to belittle it by a power created to its detriment, that day, its seems to me but logical to declare, it will be all over with the English monarchy.

What applies to England applies, to her colonies. While confining themselves within well fixed and well determined bounds the people whose claims never went so far as to menace established power as was done in England not long ago, that people, I say, would not permit a colonial government to deviate from the democratic principles accepted by it and become an autocracy.

We must, unfortunately, recognize that recent events in our country give food for reflection to those who wish that the principles of sane democracy, of government of the people by the people, conformable to its needs and aspirations, should continue to direct our politics.

The underlying spirit on which the very strength of Canada is founded is profoundly shocked by the measures to which it has been submitted. If this spirit does not show itself at present, it is because such manifestation is prevented by a feeling more potent than its desire to express its will. But no sooner will the war, which made it accept what it would never have permitted in time of peace, be ended, than the underlying Canadian spirit will show itself in disapproval of a fatal policy, and demand from public men a leadership conformable to a mentality that their own excesses will have developed, a mentality demanding that all the efforts of the nation should tend to give Canada the best of individual and common effort. That will be the Canadian renaissance inspired by a single desire and a splendid hope

The European peace, which, we continue to hope in spite of everything, will re-establish the world equilibrium, must, we think, have its reaction among us. All countries, great and small strong and weak, must in the after-war period, examine the ruins caused by the conflict. Love of native land, be that land great or small, wherever it exists, will inspire in individuals a national will and energy which will enable them to surmount every difficulty, and will unite them in the supreme determination of restoring in its material form the native land of before the war

Why not hope that the same love will inspire the same national energy in the moral order and bring together the individuals of certain countries whom the war had estranged from one another, the result of a different comprehension of the same idea of duty to the fatherland.

Then there will be but one question, one aim, one idea, that all can accept as a vivifying and national necessity that of restoring among the individuals of the same country peace, harmony and the good understanding that the entire world will itself regain after having been deprived of it far too long.

TOWARDS THE DAWN.

That day imperialism and militarism will be brushed aside as elements capable of injuring this work of material and moral reconstruction. That is why I say to you with Wickham Steed : "We must now look towards the future and not, with regret of heart, towards the past. We must look towards the dawn to see the moment when the sun is to appear, and not think of the suns that have already set"

I look towards the dawn with all my love for the Canadian land. I look at this dawn with all the strength of my enthusiasm because I believe the day is not so far off as we think when the sun whose rays are necessary to warm once more the Canadian soul, will rise at last over our poor country, torn, divided, tortured. We must not despair of the sun of tomorrow. It will be the sun of liberty in the world, that will cause rights and the reciprocal obligations of nations to be respected, the sun that will warm once again the enthusiasm of individuals, the sun whose new splendor will make us forget these last days of national anguish, and comforting all souls once more, will renew the bond

of tradition by uniting hearts and wills in a common effort. Then there will go up to the highest of the eternal vaults, from all Canadian homes, a Te Deum of joy intoned by an entire nation at last conscious of its strength, a nation that, spreading its wings wide, can face the future without dread. The Canadian nation will have risen. The Canadian soul will make it live, the Canadian ideal will guide it. (Applause).

I feel that this optimism will surprise a great many of my compatriots who stop to consider the harm that blind fanaticism has done in our country, and cannot believe that it is possible to retain any hope. Will they permit me, those who think in that fashion because they have suffered greatly, who are made skeptical through this suffering, who are pleased to cherish that suffering and keep it alive with sad memories,—will they permit me to say that suffering is a sign, and marks a line of conduct for those it gathers in and whom it causes to think. As we are, we have suffered insult and worse, all of us have bent to the storm, we have all felt the force of the blast, and the shock has kept alive within us our national susceptibility.

We have watched our race and we have seen it weep. We have read what the press of England said of us, and we have asked ourselves if we were British subjects. Seeing the attacks that the French newspapers were pleased to direct at us, we have asked ourselves whether our origin was what we believe it to be. Looking at the American press we have asked ourselves why the United States had appeared to us in our dreams of the future. Reading the English Canadian press, we asked ouselves whether we were at home in this country.

Well, in spite of all that, I am an optimist. I believe in the future of Canada and I believe in the possibility of a Canadian mentality, because for these many questions we have asked ourselves one reply has sufficed, a reply that is an affirmation of national faith, a political creed, a hope for the future. In the general madness we must have preserved our calm, we must have remained profoundly Canadian to have withstood this shock and still today to be capable of resistance.

Our position must have been very strong and very logical when those who deemed our demands and our attitude antipatriotic had nothing to offer as arguments but insults and worse.

If we have logic on our side, and if our individual and national conscience dictated what we believe to have been a duty, and if, seeing this duty, we performed it, trusting that we would save our country from the ruin towards which extravagant theories were impelling it, have I not the right to hope that, impelled by this same logic, some day it will be said that after all we were not wrong, and do you not think with me, Sir, that the day we are right we will be able to congratulate ourselves on having prepared the resurrection of the Canadian Soul ?

Nothing is more changeable than the spirit of man. It would ill brook a constancy that would bind it and limit its evolution. Were it not so, it would never be possible in the world to hope for a reaction, and after the wars that arouse and agitate it, it could not set itself to the arduous task that awaits it and which must, as a necessary precedent to success, make it, I do not say forgive, but forget for the time the motives which agitated and aroused it.

That is why, following wars, nations in restoring the relations necessary to their respective greatness trust to time to heal the wounds from which they suffer, and it is at such moments that each nation produces men who can rise above the prejudices of the mob, pointing out as a national duty renunciation, forgetfulness of insult and injury.

I believe it is to profess love for Canada to say that when the present crisis has passed there will pass with it the wave of imperialist patriotism that threatens it, that it is to profess sincere love for Canada to believe that the relations between the various provinces will be welded once more.

For that, I admit that a condition is necessary. There must arise in the English provinces strong men who will hold themselves above the prejudices of the crowd, and who will appeal to those who have not forgotten the ideal that inspired them yesterday. These must look, as we do, to the dawn of new days, and be able to inculcate in those whose direction they undertake the Canadian ideal which we believe is the only one that will weld in a splendid whole the different groups and races that share this country.

That will be the time to reaffirm the principles on which we believe the Constitution of our country to be founded, and these men of the English provinces will give us their hand, following the example of their ancestors, and will strengthen once more the traditions that we never desired to break. (Applause).

I may be told perhaps that I am wrong to hope that in the English provinces there will arise men able to stem the tide of popular prejudice. To that I say that I believe there is in the ranks of our English compatriots a strong minority whose earnest desire is to see the present state of affairs brought to an end. I believe that these cherish a secret ambition that Canada should remain mistress of her destinies, and that the doctrine for which we stand should resume its way over the Canadian people.

I believe this because at every epoch of our history, each time our country has passed through a national or political crisis, men, as I said at the beginning of my remarks, who did not share our religious faith and were not of our origin have joined their efforts to ours to establish a principle, to promote a great idea, to prevent an injustice or to defend a right.

Thus it was that in 1837, to assure the principle of responsible government Mackenzie joined his efforts to those of Papineau. Under Union, Baldwin allied himself to Lafontaine in the defence of the rights of the French, and of this fertile union were born the rights of the French language in Parliament. In 1867, to affirm the right of the people to approve or disapprove of a constitutional change, Howe and Dorion joined hands in the demand for a referendum.

In 1885, to prevent the committing of a crime, that of Regina, Blake joined his eloquence to the voice of Laurier, and on all the questions that have agitated public opinion in our country we have always seen English public men risking their political futures to take up arms for an idea, a principle, a just claim that Quebec wished to affirm.

That is why, Mr. Speaker, I preserve this hope that inspires me and which, drawing back the curtain that hides the future from our eyes, causes me to view it with confidence.

I may be told, perhaps, as well of the threat to isolate Quebec, of which the newspapers of the English provinces are full. They may ask : "Are you not afraid that all your sentiments of moderation and toleration will be useful to nobody but those who will use them to further their work of fanaticism which we are trying to forget ?"

SPLENDIDLY ISOLATED

Indeed, since these newspapers have been for so long exhibiting to us what they deem to be a bogey, it is perhaps just as well to reply that we are not afraid of the isolation of Quebec

This course would be a disaster to the trade of the English provinces, for in exchange and in revenge no other market where accounts are met so honestly is open to them. In fact, I am not afraid to state that Quebec is a splendid market, one that they cannot disregard without running the risk that the blow thus aimed would hurt those who delivered it more that it would hurt us.

Trade is not a question of sentiment but a question of interest, and whatever may be the relations between individuals, wherever trade is possible individuals will try to carry it on, just as peoples will. That is what made Lord Cecil say that after the war there would be in England no boycott of German products, but that they would import from Germany, whatever they needed, just as everything Germany needed would be exported to her

Let us leave to one side interests between provinces, commercial relations between individuals, and content ourselves with asking who are those in Quebec who would suffer from isolation, were it possible, who are the owners of the greatest industrial establishments, who are the directors of the strongest banks in Quebec ? They are our English compatriots of Montreal and Quebec. Do you not think, Sir, that our isolation would be a direct blow at this english financial supremacy in our province ? Did it come about, all the resources of English commercial power would be set in action to head it off in their own interest. As for us, I do not pretend to argue that our economic organization permits us to be isolated. Besides, we do not wish it, and never have wished it.

We do not long for splendid isolation, but by intensifying our production we could perhaps develop here industries that do not exist at present, and should we suffer for a time who knows but that our suffering would not ultimately be a source of good, a source of material and financial development.

No indeed, those who would suffer most would be our English compatriots in this province, and I dare say that if they had to

express theselves they would not dare to pronounce in favour of such an isolation.

I permit myself then to declare that from the economic point of view there will be no attempt made to isolate Quebec, and should such an attempt be made, the isolation would last a very short time.

It may be said that political isolation is easier. It is declared that it exists in the fact that our race is not represented in the executive of this country, and, what is more, a certain satisfaction is felt in some quarters over our situation.

It is just as well to dispel the illusion. From the political point of view we were masters of the situation. We were free to avoid it. All we had to do was to betray what we believed, and still believe, our duty.

It would be a misfortune to have at the present time in the executive of this country men of our race, for these men do not share the opinion that Quebec has very clearly expressed, and would not represent the people of the province of Quebec. We do not complain of our position. We wanted it, and, what is better we do not regret it. (Prolonged applause. A "bravo" is heard in the gallery.)

If it is possible to convince people of a sentiment that some will find exaggerated in its nobility, in our defeat, Sir, from the Canadian point of view, we find a certain satisfaction, a certain pride, when, counting ourselves, we see that we are so many who share a sane idea and a sane policy. If, then, the isolation of Quebec consists in not having betrayed an ideal, we are splendidly isolated.

I said just now that we experience a certain satisfaction in the political situation made for us. In fact, this lack of representation will perhaps protect our politics from certain mistakes, and will perhaps prevent us from committing certain faults. It will perhaps convince some that politics should be something more than a simple question of patronage, and if this lack of patronage for some time could purify our morals and give political questions a clearer and truer vision, being disengaged from any personal interest, do you not think, Sir, that our province would be the gainer ?

But if on the other hand political isolation consists in preventing us from taking part in the discussion of problems touching

our political and national life, then let nobody believe it. We have the right to sixty-five members, we have exercised our privilege and our right to elect them, and of that number sixty-two have received from us the express and absolute mandate to sustain in the Parliament of our country the Canadian idea, and to dispel the evil that the Imperial idea is at present causing in our country.

Of those we have chosen, because we deemed them capable of keeping up the struggle, we will ask fidelity to the task they have assumed, that they continue the battle for the idea that caused them to be elected, and that they join their efforts to those of our English compatriots who will prove before long that Quebec is not isolated, but that it continues to represent the ideas that prevailed at the signing of the Confederation pact, ideas that have remained in Canadian tradition and which inspired Macdonald and Cartier.

The isolation of those who are right is impossible, for I still believe that good sense and logic are always finally right over prejudice and fanaticism, and that even here, in Canada, that hour will come, and we may then congratulate ourselves, as I said before, on having saved our country.

From the national point of view we hold our destinies in our hands. We cannot be isolated more than we are by the Confederation Act, but whether this is attempted or not, nothing [illegible] our technical condition can be changed. We form an entity by ourselves, an entity which should develop by an aim of altruism, and should try to make itself understood, for to make ourselves understood is, little by little, to give our politics, as our life, the essentially Canadian mentality that is due them.

What an admirable situation is that of a minority such as ours, animated by this great idea, with this ardent desire to continue the traditions of the past, and which, satisfied with its role is preparing to endow the country in which it lives with a mentality which it has created, which it holds at present with certain provinces touching on the ocean. These, having a vast horizon, conceive that a province is not a whole country, that there are, as well as individuals, peoples who have the right to life and the right to a mentality which conforms to their needs and aspirations.

The day is not far off when in our country our minority will be thanked for having been able to develop, preserve and spread

this mentality that alone is able to permit Canada to develop according to the needs of her geographical situation, and to make her attain the destinies for which her beginnings marked her out.

Superb temporary isolation which we regret for those who created it, but in which our Canadian pride exalts and is consoled !

It is because of this role we are playing, and of this pride we take in it that it is our duty to remain on the battle field on which Providence has placed us, a battle field that we accepted in 1763, in spite of the many opportunities we had to leave it if we wished.

The great victories of history are not always those of great conquerors, nor are they always the result of brilliant deeds, but they are often the results of stubborn resistance that finally overcame the tenacity and perseverance of a majority. Will not Poland, in freeing herself from the Russian yoke, achieve one of the greatest victories of history, a victory worthy of such a people as the Poles. And was it not also a great victory that Hungary, after her language and institutions had been banished, won over her conqueror, Austria, thanks to her tenacity and constancy and her persistent refusal to abdicate her national pride ?

The Canadian r[illegible] owes it to itself and to Canada to win a victory that history will record, and it will win it the day that there will reign in this country a peace and harmony that will develop that Canadian mentality it will have been able by its moderation and tolerance to impose upon all groups and races.

I am one of those who believe that life without a great ideal is shorn of satisfaction. I am one of those who believe that in an age such as ours to fight for a political or national ideal is a worthy battle.

Our race has this great ideal which inspires its national life and gives it a clear vision of the dangers that may attack our country. This is not then the moment to dream of letting it give up the struggle for this ideal. It must persist with new tenacity and constancy, for the longer the resistance, the greater the victory.

OPTIMISM

That is why, Mr. Speaker, I believe I am performing my duty to my race, my province and my country when I declare that I preserve for the Constitution of our country in spite of the dangers it offers and that the recent crisis has shown us, I will not say a profound attachment, but the respect that is due the constitution that rules us when one is convinced that its clauses contain sufficient justice and sufficient guarantees to offer correction of the wrongs caused by its violation.

All modes of government or constitutions are capable, at least temporarily, of serving the needs and aspirations of the people who accept them and who do not seek to make them deviate from the aim for which they were accepted. It is enough then to leave them in the hands of disinterested men, with a broad enough spirit to interpret them according to the spirit that prevailed when they were accepted. For my part, and I have no intention of representing in this declaration more than my humble personal opinion, I believe it is preferable for a minority to be governed in virtue of a constitution which may entail danger to it, but in virtue of a constitution whose dangers it knows, than to accept a new political system which apparently offers a greater national satisfaction but would perhaps reveal in the future still greater evils for it.

We will continue to believe, Sir, that our political leaders who were able to inculcate in our people in discussing the problems of the past a moderation and tolerance which without never went to the length of abandonment of principle, knew and understood the situation in which our province was.

They believed then, as we, I hope, will continue to believe, that for a minority this moderation and this tolerance are two national virtues, more patent than a sword when one knows how to use them

Let us not then be carried away by the people, let us not follow them in their moments of bitterness or even of legitimate animosity, if we think there can result to it from this agitation a national, political and moral weakening. There is but one thing in addition to an ideal deeply anchored in the soul of a nation, that can add to its power, and that is a well reasoned optimism, for nothing can depress a people more then pessimism

It is then for those who have the duty to direct the people to dissipate the pessimism that is embittering it, and which might finally create a state of apathy and indifference. Let the political leaders remember the role they must play. It is for them to give direction, it is for them to tell the people the whole truth, and ceaselessly direct their eyes, their intelligence and their will towards the aim that is to be reached.

Now our aim, the only one we can look forward to without betraying our traditions, is to perpetuate in Canada the idea that prevailed when this country was founded. It is impossible to believe that Providence would allow the countless sacrifices made by old France here to bear no fruit or would permit the country she came to found on the banks of the St. Lawrence to fall one day into national catastrophe.

I am confident that our Confederation will rise from this chaos like all the peoples of the world, taught by suffering, enlightened by a new experience, and, finding her pathway, and needing the effort of each group and each race, will issue the appeal that will serve to rally all groups and races.

Freeing herself then from the grip of the autocracy in which she herself will deem she has remained too long, and understanding the dangers of the future if she does not consolidate at once all her force, energy and will, she will unite in a great idea of Canadian political democracy all those who under her aegis wish to continue to live to assure her greatness. (Long and enthusiastic applause for this masterly speech. The young and brilliant member for Terrebonne is given an ovation.)

LAFERTE, HECTOR, B.A., LL.L. (Drummond). B. Nov. 8, 1885, at St-Germain de Grantham, Drummond Co. S. of Joseph Laferté (member for Drummond in the legis. from 1901 until 1910), and Georgiana Jeanne Tessier, both French-Canadians. Parents on mother's side came from France under French domination from Toulouse, the capital of Languedoc. Ed. at the Seminary, Nicolet, and Laval Univ., Quebec (Degree B.A. and LL.B.). M. June 28, 1911, to Miss Irene Senecal, dau. of Simon Senecal, of St. Cesaire, P. Q. An advocate. Dir. and Sec. of Riverside Park, Ltd. Pres. of Mercier Club. Was private secretary to Hon. Jules Allard, Jérémie L. Decarie and J. E. Caron. Was pres. of students in law, founder and first pres. of "l'Association de la Jeunesse Libérale." Pres. of the Bar Assn., mem. of the Council of the Bar. Was one of the principal speakers at the unveiling of the Mercier monument at Quebec, in June, 1912. In 1914, represented the Province of Quebec at Houghton, Michigan, at the National French-Canadian celebration. For six years was a member of the firm of Choquette, Galipeault, St. Laurent and Laferte and at present is senior mem. of the firm of Laferte and Pouliot. Was lawyer for the bootmakers at the time of the great strike in 1913, and is legal adviser of many corporations, and also Machine-Cobbler's Union, the Leather Cutters, the Labourers' Union, the Stationary Engineers' and Firemen's Assn., Longshoremen's Union, etc., etc., etc. First elec. to legis. at g.e., 1916, for Drummond by 618 votes. A Liberal. A Roman Catholic. 259 St. Joseph St., Quebec.

HECTOR LAFERTÉ

Member for Drummond.

Franc Le Soleil

Mr. Speaker :

Representing a constituency where we see daily the different races and religions coming in contact without friction. I could not be silent on such grounds begins M. Laferté.

With this motion on hand, it is time to say with Napoleon : " The statesmen's heart must be in his head."

I am not of the same politics of the Ontario citizens writing to the prime-minister to know when we were withdrawing from the confederation, and asking him an immediate reply.

Nor am I of the opinion of this kind laborer stating we could go out of the Confederation provided we gave thirty days notice. I am not either in accord with the Quebec alderman proposing union with the maritime provinces without troubling himself as to their wish in the matter.

M. Laferte, by the way, lands gently on M. Sauve's worrying about the newspapers. " If he can muzzle his press, he better not try it here ! " The Quebec papers will, to-morrow, quote his words accurately, he said.

M. Laferte first congratulates Mr. Francœur on his reserve and moderation. He thinks the motion to be proper and well-timed.

The Drummondville member goes over the long historical loyalty of the French-Canadians, after which he recites in comparison the insults and outrages we have been subjected to.

But it is time to ask one self : " Is the fruit ripe enough to fall from the tree, and must we aspire at independence ? " Or else, must we demand annexation ?

For my part, I have no hesitation whatever in stating that we are not mature for independence. And I do not see annexation in a better light either. But this does not mean however, that we cannot change our " modus vivendi."

Speaking to the Anglo-Canadians, M. Laferte says : " That which you have written about us is true, or else, is not true. If true, how can you desire further intercourse with us? The province of Ontario should be the first to demand separation. If untrue, let the press make amends and swallow its outrages.

" But, as Sir Lomer said a short time ago : " Here we are the eldest ! " And we shall not abdicate."

We have progressed and our numbers have increased. We have mastered many industries. We go now where a short time ago our entrance was refused.

M. Laferte states he is frankly in favor of the Francœur motion. Everybody should be with him. To vote against it add : would be a lack of dignity and of self-courage.

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BOUCHARD, TELESPHORE DAMIEN (St. Hyacinthe). B. Dec. 20, 1881, at St. Hyacinthe, P. Q. S. of Damien Bouchard and Julie Rivard, both French-Canadians. Ed. at St. Hyacinthe Seminary. M. May 12, 1904, to Blanche Cornea, dau. of Napoléon Cusson, of Montreal. One child, Cecil Eva. A journalist. Pres. of the St. Hyacinthe Board of Trade. Was three years City Clerk of Saint-Hyacinthe. Elected alderman at 23 years of age for the Commercial Ward; took the leadership of the council at 25, was chosen City Clerk 2 years later, which position he resigned when elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1912. Re-el. 1916. A liberal. A Roman Catholic. St. Hyacinthe, P. Q.

TELESPHORE-DAMIEN BOUCHARD

Member for St. Hyacinthe, P. Q.

(From Le Soleil)

Mr. Speaker :

As a member and as a journalist having attentively followed the development of the present crisis which has culminated in the motion now before the House, I must say that I am not sure whether I could vote for this motion. I am wondering whether this motion, which is hypothetical, has any utility and effect.

What would happen if all other provinces should adopt similar resolutions? Furthermore, is it timely for us to seek the rupture of confederation? For the general belief is that this is the meaning of the motion.

The member for St-Hyacinthe believes a discussing of this motion will bring good results throughout the country. We have been assailed by the english press, he says. But it would be advisable to tell certain french papers all the wrong they have done us in attacking the Ontario fanatics.

And monsieur Bouchard cites some typical extracts from a Montreal periodical.

This a childish quarrel, he comments. Both sides have their wrongs. On one side we see the spectre of domination, and on the other the spectre of persecution. Our race has not been persecuted, he asserts. To admit it would be weakness. To advise the boycotting of Ontario is an antinational folly. We must live here as brothers. There must be no slaves and no persecution. Our union must be one of brethren, just and strong.

TESSIER, AUGUSTE MAURICE (Rimouski). B. July 20, 1879, at Rimouski. S. of Auguste Tessier and Corinne Gauvreau, both French-Canadians His father is Judge Auguste Tessier of the Superior Court, and his grandfather was the Hon. U. J. Tessier, Judge of the Court of King's Bench, Quebec. Ed. at Quebec Seminary and Laval Univ. Degrees. B. A. (1898), LL.M. with very great distinction (1901). M. Feb. 7, 1907, to Yvonne, dau. of Sir Alexandre Lacoste, former Chief Justice Court of King's Bench, Montreal. A barrister Director, Rimouski Land Company ; Canada & Gulf Terminal Railway Company ; Elec. May 15, 1912, for the County of Rimouski. Re-elec. g.e., 1916. Admitted to the Bar, July, 1901 ; Studied in office of Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, Quebec ; practised his profession first at Richmond, with Hon. P. S. G. Mackenzie, and at Rimouski since 1905. Crown Prosecutor for the District of Rimouski from 1909 until 1913 ; created K. C. in 1912. Mayor of the parish of Rimouski and President of the Agricultural Society of the County of Rimouski. Clubs ; Garrison Club, Quebec, Reform Club, Montreal. First elec. to Legis. at g.e., 1912. A Roman Catholic. A Liberal. Rimouski, Que.

AUGUSTE-MAURICE TESSIER

Member for Rimouski

Mr. Speaker:

If the motion introduced by my hon. friend from Lotbinière had been brought in five or six years ago everybody would have protested and it would have been received with surprise and astonishment. To day the situation is not the same.

The announcement of this motion, although it aroused public opinion in the other provinces, caused but mild surprise here. It seemed even to be expected, and in certain quarters it met the wish of a great number.

Indeed, this motion, which brings up for discussion a question as serious as the breaking of the Confederation pact of 1867, appears to some to be the natural and logical outcome of events which have occurred for some time past.

Is there in the Western provinces and in Ontario, a systematic campaign organized against the province of Quebec, and accontuated by fanaticism and hatred of everything that is french? I believe there is. My honorable friend from Lotbinière proved it to me satisfactorily the other day.

These speeches, these writings, and these newspaper articles that he quoted to us, do they represent the opinion of the majority of the people in these provinces? I still do not want to believe it. (Long applause.)

I would rather continue to think that they are the work of blind fanatics, of conscienceless demagogues, that they do not represent the view of the majority, which is still sane and better informed.

Do you know, Sir, that, in spite of these appeals to passion, fanaticism and intolerance, the candidates of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in Ontario, in the last federal elections, received a greater number of votes than in the elections of 1911? And yet every-

body knows the weapons that were used in the last electoral campaign.

In any case, Sir, let the fanatics think, speak, and write of our province as they wish What care I?

They cannot prevent *what is from being and remaining.* They cannot CHANGE HISTORIC FACTS AND THE ESTABLISHED ORDER OF THINGS IN THIS COUNTRY. THEY CANNOT PREVENT THE FRENCH NATIONALITY, NOT ONLY FROM CONTINUING TO EXIST, BUT FROM LIVING, SPREADING AND INCREASING ITS INFLUENCE IN STRENGTH AND NUMBER. (Long applause)

It is giving too much importance to them even to pay attention them, and it is better to entertain in respect to them, "*ce sentiment consolateur qu'on appelle mépris*". ("that consoling sentiment that is called contempt") as M. Necker said.

But do you not find, Sir, in these insults hurled at the French Canadian race and at our province a thinly disguised confession of fear inspired by our strength and our constantly growing influence?

And they have just gone farther than they ever went before. They have not hesitated to violate even the sacred right of property.

Allow me, Sir, to read a few lines from the newspaper the Globe, of Toronto, written the 18th inst., the day after this debate opened. They confirm what I have just said:

Before granting land to a new arrival in the province of Ontario, it is now sought to force him to sign an affidavit to which be binds himself expressly to obey the iniquitous rule XVII which proscribes the use and teaching of french in the schools, in every particular, and, what is still worst, they legalize the spoliation of the property by decreeing that in case of disobedience to rule XVII the settler will lose all his property rights in the land purchased from the government, and all the money paid by him on account of the purchase price of the said land, and the improvements he has made on it will be confiscated by the crown without any compensation. And the newspaper adds:"

"The Globe was informed by a well-known Orangeman yesterday that the new rule is aimed at the French-Canadians, who for some time have been pouring in from Quebec into new

Ontario, with the object, the Orangemen fear, of controlling the elections in that part of the province.

"The affidavit contains this paragraph : " That I understand that failure to comply with any of the promises or declarations made herein shall, in addition to any other penalties to which I may be subject, entail forfeiture, without compensation of all my rights and of moneys paid on account of the purchase of land."

That is the distance they have gone and that is what fear induces people to do.

And in spite of everyting, Sir, I have an invincible faith in the future and in the destinies of ther Fench-Canadian race, the province of Quebec, and Confederation. This is not the first crisis through which we have passed. This will pass as the others did. Where the father has gone there the child may go too.

We are accustomed to it indeed, for we have always struggled in this country, first for existence, then for survival, and we have always triumphed.

We can even afford to be generous, and I may apply to the French-Canadian race the words of St. Augustin, in speaking of God : "Patiens, quia aeternus."

Let our detractors understand it once for all, we are here to stay.

For a long time we have won, and we are winning to-day the torch race. The wonderful vitality of our race is proved more each day, and the flame which cannot be extinguished not only does not flicker, nor diminish, but it burns stronger than ever and mounts higher than it has ever mounted.

I repeat, Sir, I am not yet a separationist. Although Confederation, not because of us, but through the fault of others, seems to be shaking on its foundation, I still believe in better days and in the return of a healthier mentality in the other provinces.

The situation was much more critical for us at the time of Union, in 1840, when there was a desire to make us completely disappear. In fact, lord Durham said in his report that is still famous :

"The government should above all undertake to establish in this province a population with English laws and language,

and to entrust the government of the country only to a legislature exclusively English.

And, to place his plan in execution, they first deprived Lower-Canada of her legitimate number of representatives, since with a population double that of Upper-Canada, equal representation was decided upon for the two parts of the country. The French language was completely banished from the debates, and Lower-Canada was compelled to pay the debt of Upper-Canada.

However Lafontaine dit not wish to demand the repeal of the Union. His clear mind and sound judgment showed him the advantages that could be extracted even from this constitution. He contracted with Robert Baldwin that alliance so fertile in happy results and the latter said of Lafontaine, in 1844 :

"As for M. Lafontaine, so far as I am concerned, I am as proud to have him for guide and leader as I am happy to have him for my friend. I say to the people of Upper-Canada that in my opinion they could not find a man more attentive to their interest, and more determined to give them an administration that will satisfy them."

And, if I am allowed, Sir, to recall here a special incident, I will tell you that in 1842, when Baldwin was defeated in the county of York by Ontario fanaticism, the then member for Rimouski offered him his seat, and Baldwin was elected there without opposition, while Lafontaine, himself defeated in the county of Terrebonne, found a seat in the province of Ontario. (Applause.)

Without any doubt the province of Quebec has reason to complain of the way in which the confederation pact has been interpreted and its terms observed. Their grievances are many and serious. Especially during the last few years our autonomy has often been imperilled. And the most of the acts of the central power constitute a series of attempts to infringe our rights which are dear to us, and violations of our liberty to legislate for and govern ourselves. It will suffice, Sir, for me to enumerate a few examples.

In 1913, the Ottawa government contested the right of the provinces to grant a company incorporated by charter of provincial letters patent the right to carry on business in another province, and pretended that a company thus incorporated

in one province could have no statuts and carry on no business in another province without obtaining its charter and its powers at Ottawa.

It was necessary to go right to the Privy Council to establish the rights of the provinces and to have the contention of the central power declared unfounded.

Later, in 1916, the Ottawa government returned to the attack in an attempt to take possession, this time by means of an order-in-council, of the fisheries situated on the tidal waters of this province. But it once more found at Quebec a government jealous of our rights. The question was referred to the courts an i in the Court of King's Bench, February 17th 1917, we gained our action. The attempt was foiled. Applause.)

And that is to be said, Sir, of the odious Canadian Northern act which made the province of Quebec pay sums of money guaranteed by the governments of the other provinces?

And the War-Time Elections Act by means of which there was manufactured a special electorate, and, I will use the word, hard though it may be, a new mandate stolen

It is not surprising that this measure aroused public opinion in this province, and that the people of Quebec were moved to their inmost hearts. I said the elections were stolen, and the phrase is correct. This result was obtained :

I. By the disfranchisement of aliens, which wiped out in the western provinces between forty per cent and sixty per cent of the electors

II. By placing the preparation of the voters list in the hands of enumerators named by and creatures of the government.

III. By granting the vote to a special class of women

IV. By giving the right to vote to electors of whom thousands had never resided in the country, and allowing them to choose the place to which their vote would be applied

Another grievance of the province, and one not less serious, was the refusal to re-adjust the federal subsidy. In 1906, on representations made by the interprovincial conference sitting at Quebec, in 1902, and presided over by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the federal subsidy paid to the provinces yearly was considerably increased In 1913, another interprovincial conference was held

and a resolution was unanimously adopted demanding a new re-adjustment and giving reasons that justified the demand.

I see among other things that the custom and excise duties that the provinces ceded to Canada in 1867, then reached the sum of $11,580,000, for which they had received in federal subsidies the sum of $2,227,000. in round figures

In 1913, the total revenue, in customs and excise duties, had risen to $133,000,000., and the provinces received in subsidies from Ottawa only $10,281,000.

So it is false to say as I have often heard in this house that the federal subsidy is a gift made by the central power to the province. Apart from being the executing of an expressed clause in the confederation act of 1867, this is only a mean compensation for the revenue ceded by the province to the government of Canada at the time of Confederation, a revenue that has increased in that time much more than the subsidy in proportion, and of which the province has been deprived since.

And yet, in spite of representations to this effect with convincing proofs to back them up, the Borden government has refused to increase the federal subsidy to the provinces, since the Laurier government did so in 1906

The principles of responsible and democratic government which were guaranteed us by the confederation pact of 1867, have for some time been set aside and violated many times. They have been replaced by arbitrarism and absolutism, and we are no longer governed by a parliament composed of representatives freely chosen by the people and legislating for them, but by means of orders-in-council.

Do you want a recent example, Sir? I will cite the order-in-council by which the federal government has laid its hands on all issues of bonds by provincial governments and public and private corporations. It is nothing more nor less than, with outrageous cynicism and insolence, placing the province of Quebec under guardianship, or rather interdicting it and our municipal and school corporations, and paralyzing the economic life of our province

There is nothing left to do now but restor "les lettres de" "lettres de cachet", and we will have returned to the gala days of absolute monarchy.

Happily, Sir, we have a government in Quebec which, in constituting itself the firm defender of our rights and autonomy and being jealous of preserving them in full, has not been slow to protest on every occasion It has each time spoken the language of common sense. It has spoken firmly and with moderation. It has said what had to be said. We must congratulate it and assure it that it has behind it the almost unanimous public opinion of the province.

After that, Sir, are you astonished that there should be talk in this province of the breaking of the Confederation pact? As for me, I repeat, I have not given up in better days and in the birth of a saner mentality. My honorable friend from Terrebonne said, and rightly, that at all the difficult and critical periods of our history, our race had always found allies and devoted friends in the other provinces. I like to believe that this will be the case once more, and that the spirit of Robert Baldwin is not altogether dead.

But if we have found courageous and enlightened men who became the champions of rights and tolerance, we have also had, in our tragic hours, great leaders to guide us: Viger, Lafontaine, Cartier, Morin. We have some of them still: Laurier, Gouin. (Applause.

The colossus that has presided over the destinies of our province for twelve years has no foot of clay.

Sieyes, when he was asked how he had passed through the trouble and the bloody period of the revolution, said: "I lived!" That was something. The french-canadian race has done better than live since Providence attached it to the banks of the St. Lawrence

Not only has it lived, but it has grown, it has developed, often under extremely difficult conditions. The 60,000 French-Canadians of 1760 are to-day two millions and a quarter in Canada and a million and three quarters in the great republic to the south

They constitute the third of the population of this country. They asked only the same measure of justice that they gave to others, and there has never been a school question or a language or race conflict in the province of Quebec.

And in conclusion, I repeat to my compatriots in the other provinces these wise words of an Irish leader to his compatriots of Ulster :"

"All we want is fair ground and no favor. We ask for no more and we are determined to take no less. We believe you have the same toleration and the same sanity as we have."

If this appeal could be heard, the debate to which this motion has given rise would not have been in vain or useless.

(Long applause.)

CANNON, LAWRENCE ARTHUR DUMOULIN, K. C. (Quebec Centre). B. April 28, 1877, at Arthabaska, Que. S. of Lawrence John Cannon and Aurelie Dumoulin, both Canadians. Ed. at Laval Univ.: degrees, LL.L., B.A. M. April 20, 1904, to Corinne, dau. of Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, G.C.M.G., of Ottawa, Ont. Four children: Charles, Edward, Alexander and Marie. A barrister. A dir. of the Industrial Life Insurance Co. Alderman of the City of Quebec, representing Palace ward four terms, from 1908 until 1916. Chairman of Finance Committee and Leader of Council. A mem. of the Garrison Club, K. of C. and Quebec Golf Club. First elec. to legis. at g.e., 1916. A liberal. A Roman Catholic. 2 Ferland St., Que.

LAWRENCE ARTHUR DUMOULIN CANNON

Member for Quebec Centre

Mr. Speaker

Representing as I do the division where was held, in 1864, the Quebec Conference which laid the foundations of the Confederation pact that now governs us, I deem it my duty not to allow this debate to pass without taking part in it and stating my opinion on this motion.

If Quebec has witnessed scenes that have become historic, I think I can state that one of the most interesting was presented in the old Parliament at the opening of the first session of the second legislature in 1871.

Chauveau was at the head of affairs and within the House were men such as Cauchon, Langevin, Holton, Fournier, Joly, Lynch, Blanchet and Pelletier. Among the members, thanks to the double mandate, sat a man who was often consulted by the Prime Minister and his colleagues: he had been the leader of the province for fifteen years, the powerful minister who, with Macdonald and Brown, had brought about Confederation to save his race and its future ; who, thanks to the preponderating influence assured him in the federal cabinet by the almost compact "bloc" with which the province of Quebec had surrounded him in Parliament, had just, during a period of four years, set the foundations of the federal organization by passing the acts providing for the construction of the I.C.R., the organization of the militia, the acquisition of the Northwest Territories, and the admission of British Columbia into Confederation.

Cartier seemed to be at the zenith of his career, the uncontested leader of his province, and there was nothing at that time to foretell the defeat to be inflicted upon him two years later by a young lawyer, Louis-Amable Jetté, he, whose green old age still rejoices all citizens of Quebec who have the pleasure of greeting in him the most distinguished of our fellow-

citizens. Cartier sat at Quebec, he of whom Sir Lomer Gouin wrote on 1st April, 1914, to Mr. Boyd: "Of all the Canadian statesmen of the last century, not one, perhaps, better merits to be held up to the admiration and to the imitation of both present and future generations. There have been patriots and there have been statesmen, but Cartier was both."

He was a big man. He was imbued with large ideas. His horizon was a wide one, his vision extending far beyond the surroundings and the atmosphere of his own times; and the Canada of today is largely the result of his constructive statesmanship. This is high praise but one of a different nationality than mine has declared that the union of the English-speaking provinces in Confederation could not have been effected if Cartier had refused his assistance.

He was not only a seer and a thinker but he was a worker. He said many good things and said them well, but he is chiefly remembered as one who did things.

"You ask me what in my opinion the French-Canadians are particularly indebted to Cartier for. For much, indeed. And for what French-Canadians are indebted to Sir George-Etienne Cartier, Canadian of every nationality are equally indebted to him. He taught them self-reliance and the duty of mutual respect and regard. He exposed the futility of the contention that it was impossible to make Canada a great nation because Lower Canada was chiefly French and Catholic, Upper Canada English and Protestant, and the Maritime Provinces a mixture of all. He held that, as in Great Britain, the diversity of races would contribute to the general prosperity, and he promptly put his finger on the only danger spot of the constitution of the proposed Dominion when he said that the sole difficulty consisted in rendering proper justice to minorities. The range of his vision, like that of his great namesake, the first European to set foot in Canada, extended far beyond the boundaries of Lower Canada; and he was fond of asking his fellow countrymen whether they desired to limit the influence of their race to the narrow boundaries of their own province. It has been well said that no important fact of our history was accomplished during the twenty five years of his career without his active assistance."

I have deemed it my duty to quote at length the opinion of my chief, the honorable leader of this House, so that the interest of the scene staged at that first sitting of the first session of the second legislature of this province in 1871, might be well understood.

In the presence of Cartier, then at the apex of his career, there rose from one of the back benches of the opposition a young man who made that day a brilliant debut and enthused by his eloquence the old parliamentarians about him. That young man had just been elected for the county of Arthabaska. I do not know whether Cartier, grown old, and already stricken with the malady that was soon to take him off, had a presentiment or intuition of the great role reserved for the member whose brilliant debut he greeted with applause. This young man, whom you have recognized, Mr. Speaker, was Wilfrid Laurier! He was destined to realize the dream of Cartier almost in full by governing for fifteen years, from 1896 to 1911, a united Canada, enjoying an unheard of prosperity. It was Laurier who was to declare in London, after the Anglo-German trade treaty was denounced by England, that hereafter Canada was a nation, and that the twentieth century would be Canada's century.

I have deemed it my duty to recall this historic scene, to evoke the names of Cartier and Laurier, the two uncontested leaders of their province for fifty years past, at the moment of discussing the motion of the member for Lotbiniere.

1. By studying Cartier, we will understand better why Confederation was brought about ;

2. By following Laurier we will find the solution of the painful problem that confronts us today.

I

It would take too long to repeat here what has been so often said of the situation brought about for the French-Canadians by the Act of Union of 1840. In brief, the French language was proscribed ; Lower Canada was charged with the debt accumulated by Upper Canada, and the latter, although less populous, was given a number of representatives equal to that of the greater population of our province.

Lafontaine and his friends set to work and in a few years the French language recovered its rights and responsible government was established. Our ancestors protested first against the mode of representation, but soon the population of Upper Canada increased, and finally surpassed ours. George Brown and the "Clear Grits" began and carried on vigorously an agitation for representation according to population.

After 1850 this question convulsed the political world and made impossible the establishment of a stable government. For ten years, Cartier and the French members successfully resisted the efforts of Brown, but it was finally concluded that the struggle could not go on, and that it was necessary to change our constitution in such a way as to end the dead-lock between Quebec and Ontario, insure a stable central government, and at the same time preserve to each province its own individuality, its laws, its language, its religion and its institutions. That was to avoid legislative union which would have been the ruin of the aspirations of the French race in Canada.

Almost everybody agreed as to the need of a federal union. The difference of opinion was as to the opportunity of creating it at once, and as to the territory it should embrace.

Dorion favored a confederation of Quebec and Ontario only with a central government to settle questions of general interest and separate local administrations. Cartier had a greater and wider vision. Apart from territory and population, he believed free access to the Ocean to be necessary to a nation worthy the name, and to reach this end, to found a real national entity, he declared that it was necessary to take in the Maritime Provinces in order to extend to the Atlantic, and then, by the Northwest Territories and British Columbia, to reach the Pacific.

As the honorable Prime Minister so aptly remarked in the letter I have just quoted, like Jacques Cartier, his namesake, Sir George-Etienne wanted a confederation covering the whole continent, that continent discovered, explored, and hallowed by the labors of our discoverers, christianized by our missionaries, and defended to the death by the courage of our soldiers.

I take the liberty, Mr. Speaker, of quoting extracts from his speech on Confederation, and I recommend its reading to the well-disposed English citizens in the other provinces to whom

the hon. member for Terrebonne appealed so eloquently the other evening.

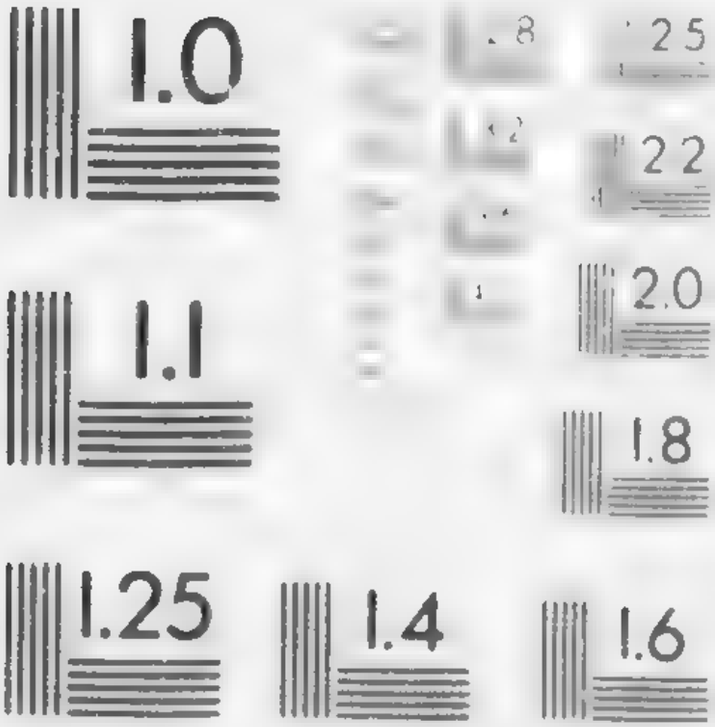
"I have been accused of being opposed to the rights of Upper Canada because, for fifteen or twenty years, I fought my hon. friend the president of the Council (Mr. Brown), who insisted that representation should be based on population in each section of the province. I combatted this attitude because I believed the principle would have given rise to conflict between the two parts of the province. I do not wish to say that the majority in Upper Canada would have certainly tyrannized over Lower Canada, but simply the idea that Upper Canada as a territory had a preponderance in the government would have been enough to arise animosity.

"In 1858, I was not slow to see that the principle of representation according to number, while not suitable as a governing principle for United Canada, would not involve the same objections if several provinces were united together in a confederation.

"In a struggle between two parties, one strong and the other weak, the weaker must be overcome. But if there are three parties, the strongest has not the same advantage, for when two of these parties see that the third has too much strength, they combine in resisting it. (Applause). I did not oppose this principle with the intention of refusing Upper Canada justice, but to prevent injustice being committed towards Lower Canada. I do not entertain the slightest fear that the rights of Lower Canada will be placed in peril through this arrangement which provides that the French-Canadians will have a number of representatives smaller than all other nationalities combined. The resolutions show that in the questions to be submitted to the Federal Parliament, there can be no danger to the rights and privileges of the French-Canadians, any more than to those of the Scotch, the English or Irish.

"Thus, questions of trade, of intercolonial communication and all matters of general interest will be discussed and determined by the general legislature, but in the exercise of the functions of the general government, there is no reason to fear that anything will be enacted harmful to the interests of any particular nationality. I do not intend to enter into the details of the confederation project. I desire simply to place

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART



before the House the principal reasons which should induce members to accept the resolutions submitted by the government. Confederation is, so to speak, a necessity for us, at this time."

Speaking of the war of secession then rending the United States, Cartier said :

"We cannot close our eyes to what is going on on the other side of the border. We see that a government established for only eighty years has not been able to keep united the family of states which share that vast country. We cannot hide from ourselves that the terrible struggle whose progress we are anxiously following must necessarily bear on our political existence. We do not know what will be the results of this great war, whether it will end with the establishment of two confederations, or of only one, as before. We have to take means to make five colonies, inhabited by men whose interests and sympathies are identical, form a single and great nation. The way is for all to unite under a general government. The question reduces itself to this : we must either have a confederation of British North America, or be absorbed by the American Union. (Hear, hear). Some are of opinion that it is not necessary to obtain such a confederation to prevent our absorption by the neighboring republic, but they are wrong.

"We know that England is determined to aid and support us in any possible struggle with our neighbors. The English provinces, separated as they are at present, cannot defend themselves alone. We have duties to fulfil towards England and to obtain her aid in our support we must help ourselves, which we cannot very well do without confederation. When we are united, the enemy will know that if he attacks any part of these provinces, whether it be Prince Edward Island or Canada, he will have to meet the combined forces of the Empire. Canada, remaining separated from the others, would be in a perilous position if war was declared. When we have organized a system of defense suitable for our mutual protection, England will freely send us her soldiers and will open her coffers to provide for our defence. (Applause). I have already said elsewhere, that, by her territory, population and wealth, Canada excels any of the other provinces, but that at the same time, it lacks an element essential to her national greatness, the mari-

time element. The trade of Canada is now so considerable that means of communication with England at all seasons of the year are absolutely necessary. Twenty years ago the summer months sufficed for the needs of our commerce, but now it is inadequate, and for our communications with the outside world during the winter, we are at the mercy of our neighbors through whose territory we are obliged to pass.

"I also said that in our present position a war with the States would deprive us of our winter ports.

"Canada has two of the elements that form great powers,- territory and population, but it lacks the maritime element which, for the advantage of all, the Lower provinces would bring her in uniting with it. They are greatly mistaken who pretend that the provinces of British North America are not more exposed, separated as they are, than if they were joined together in a confederation. The time has come for us to form a great nation, and I maintain that confederation is necessary to our commercial interests, our prosperity and our defence. That is what we have now to discuss. The details will be discussed when the plan is before us for study. Just now the question is this : Is the confederation of the provinces of British North America necessary to increase our power and to maintain the ties that attach us to the Mother Country"?

That is how the question was put by the French-Canadian leader of the day. Further on, he added, discussing the race question :

"In ancient times the manner in which nations developed was not the same as it is today. Then a weak establishment transformed itself into a village, this village became a town or a city, and there was found the nucleus of a nation. It is not so in modern times. Nations are formed now by the agglomeration of various peoples having similar interests and sympathies. Such is our position at the present time. An objection has been raised to the project now under consideration because of the words "a new nationality". But if we unite, we will form a political nationality independent of national origin, and religion of individuals. There are those who have regretted that there is a diversity of races, and expressed the hope that this distinctive characteristic would disappear. The idea of the unity of races is utopian. It is an impossibility. Distinctions of this

nature will always exist, just as diversity is in the order of the physical, moral and political worlds. As to the objection that a great nation cannot be formed because Lower Canada is in great part French and Catholic and Upper Canada is English and Protestant, while the lesser provinces are mixed, it constitutes in my opinion a reasoning weak in the extreme. Let us take for example the United Kingdom, inhabited as it is by three great races. (Hear, hear). Has the diversity of races been an obstacle to the glory, progress and welfare of England? Has not each of them contributed generously to the greatness of the Empire? Have not the three united races, by their combined talent, energy and courage, each added their quota to the glories of the Empire, to its laws so wise, to its success on land, on sea, and in commerce? (Applause).

"In our own confederation there will be Catholics and Protestants, English, French, Irish, Scotch, and each by its efforts and its success will add to the prosperity and the glory of the new confederation. (Hear, hear). We are of different races, not to quarrel, but to work together for the common welfare. (Applause). We cannot, by law, wipe out these racial differences, but, I am persuaded, the Anglo-Canadians and French-Canadians will appreciate each other's position. Set side by side, like a great family, their contact will produce a wholesome spirit of emulation. Believe me, the diversity of races will contribute to the common prosperity. The difficulty lies in the manner of rendering justice to minorities. In Upper Canada the Catholics will be in the minority, in Lower Canada the Protestants will be in the minority, while the Maritime Provinces are divided. Under such circumstances, can anybody pretend that the general government, or the local governments, could become guilty of arbitrary acts? What would be the result, even supposing that one of the local governments should attempt it? Measures of this nature would most certainly be repudiated by the mass of the people. There is then no reason to fear that it will ever be sought to deprive the minority of its rights, under the system of federation, which leaves to the central government control of great questions of general interest."

Can we not say that on this point Cartier was indeed the mouthpiece of his compatriots. We have not in Quebec igno-

ed the rights of the minority. The provisions placed in the law to safeguard the interests of the Anglo-Protestants of Quebec have been invoked only to resist the encroachments of the English majorities against the rights of the French minorities in New Brunswick, Manitoba, and Ontario. That is a testimony that comes to us from an Englishman of this province, who, I may say, reflects the opinion of his fellow-citizens of the same origin.

From these extracts, Mr. Speaker, may be determined the sentiments that inspired the French-Canadian population at the time of Confederation.

We wished for the union of the races and religions in order to work together for the progress of a country in which justice and equity would be honored, and minorities protected in such a way as to develop a strong Canadian national sentiment.

Cartier justified the project by saying that, if it did not satisfy the extremists, it would meet with the approval of the moderate elements, and was the most appropriate remedy for present and future needs.

It would be of interest also to read the speech of Sir John A. Macdonald on this suject. I will content myself with quoting the part where he explains why confederation was chosen, instead of breaking the Union or imposing legislative union.

"There were only three modes—if I may return for a moment to the difficulties with which Canada was surrounded, — only three modes that were at all suggested, by which the dead lock in our affairs, the anarchy we dreaded, and the evils which retarded our prosperity, would be met or averted. One was the dissolution of the union between Upper and Lower Canada, leaving them as they were before the union of 1841. I believe that that proposition, by itself, had no supporters. It was felt by every one that, although it was a course that would do away with the sectional difficulties which existed—though it would remove the pressure on the part of the people of Upper Canada for the representation based upon population—and the jealousy of the people of Lower Canada lest their institutions should be attacked and prejudiced by that principle in our representation; yet it was felt by every thinking man in the province that it would be a retrograde step, which would throw back the country to nearly the same position as it occupied before the union,

that it would lower the credit enjoyed by United Canada,—that it would be the breaking up of the connection which had existed for nearly a quarter of a century, and, under which, although it had not been completely successful, and had not allayed altogether the local jealousies that had their root in circumstances which arose before the union, our province, as a whole, had nevertheless prospered and increased. It was felt that a dissolution of the union would have destroyed all the credit that we had gained by being a united province, and would have left us two weak and ineffective governments, instead of one powerful and united people. (Hear, hear.) The next mode suggested, was the granting of representation by population. Now, we all know the manner in which that question was and is regarded by Lower Canada; that while in Upper Canada the desire and cry for it was daily augmenting, the resistance to it in Lower Canada was proportionably increasing in strength. Still, if some such means of relieving us from the sectional jealousies which existed between the two Canadas, if some such solution of the difficulties as Confederation had not been found, the representation by population must eventually have been carried; no matter though it might have been felt in Lower Canada as being a breach of the Treaty of Union, no matter how much it might have been felt by the Lower Canadians that it would sacrifice their local interests, it is certain that, in the progress of events, representation by population would have been carried; and, had it been carried—I speak here my own individual sentiments—I do not think it would have been for the interest of Upper Canada. For though Upper Canada would have felt that it had received what it claimed as a right, and had succeeded in establishing its right, yet it would have left the Lower Province with a sullen feeling of injury and injustice. The Lower Canadians would not have worked cheerfully under such a change of system, but would have ceased to be what they are now—a nationality, with representatives in Parliament, governed by general principles, and divided according to their political opinions—and would have been in great danger of becoming a faction, forgetful of national obligations, and only actuated by a desire to defend their own sectional interests, their own laws and their own institutions. (Hear, hear.) The third and only means of solution for our difficulties

was the junction of the provinces either in a federal or a legislative Union. Now, as regards the comparative advantages of a legislative and a federal Union, I have never hesitated to state my own opinions. I have again and again stated in the House, that, if practicable, I thought a legislative Union would be preferable. (Hear, hear.) I have always contended that if we could agree to have one government and one parliament, legislating for the whole of these peoples, it would be the best, the cheapest, the most vigorous, and the strongest system of government we could adopt. (Hear, hear.) But, on looking at the subject in the Conference, and discussing the matter as we did, most unreservedly, and with a desire to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion, we found that such a system was impracticable. In the first place, it would not meet the assent of the people of Lower Canada, because they felt that in their peculiar position—being in a minority, with a different language, nationality and religion from the majority,—in case of a junction with the other provinces, their institutions and their laws might be assailed, and their ancestral associations, on which they prided themselves, attacked and prejudiced ; it was found that any proposition which involved the absorption of the individuality of Lower Canada—if I may use the expression—would not be received with favor by her people. We found too, that though their people speak the same language and enjoy the same system of law as the people of Upper Canada, a system founded on the common law of England, there was as great a disinclination on the part of the various Maritime Provinces to lose their individuality, as separate political organizations, as we observed in the case of Lower Canada herself. (Hear, hear) Therefore, we were forced to the conclusion that we must either abandon the idea of Union altogether, or devise a system of union in which the separate provincial organizations would be in some degree preserved. So that those who were, like myself, in favor of a Legislative Union, were obliged to modify their views and accept the project of a Federal Union as the only scheme practicable, even for the Maritime Provinces.

And George Brown, the founder of the Globe, what did he say in the course of these debates in which the foundations of the future Canadian nation were laid? I dedicate these

remarks to the present editors of his newspaper which these latter days seemed to approve the action of the Government of Ontario in trying to prevent French-Canadians, Germans and Austrians from establishing themselves in the territory of the province, by imposing on new settlers conditions which could only have been thought out by brains of Prussian mentality. George Brown said, in the course of the debate on Confederation :

"The scene presented by this chamber at this moment, I venture to affirm, has few parallels in history. One hundred years have passed away since these provinces became by conquest part of the British Empire. I speak in no boastful spirit—I desire not for a moment to excite a painful thought—what was then the fortune of war of the brave French nation, might have been ours on that well-fought field. I recall those olden times merely to mark the fact that here sit to-day the descendants of the victors and the vanquished in the fight of 1759, with all the differences of language, religion, civil law, and social habit, nearly as distinctly marked as they were a century ago. (Hear, hear.) Here we sit to-day seeking amicably to find a remedy for constitutional evils and injustice complained of—by the vanquished? No, sir—but complained of by the conquerors! (Cheers by the French-Canadians.) Here sit the representatives of the British population claiming justice—only justice ; and here sit the representatives of the French population, discussing in the French tongue whether we shall have it. One hundred years have passed away since the conquest of Quebec, but here sit the children of the victor and the vanquished, all avowing hearty attachment to the British Crown—all earnestly deliberating how we shall best extend the blessings of British institutions—how a great people may be established on this continent in close and hearty connection with Great Britain. (Cheers.) Where, sir, in the page of history, shall we find a parallel to this? Will it not stand as an imperishable monument to the generosity of British rule? And it is not in Canada alone that this scene is being witnessed. Four other colonies are at this moment occupied as we are—declaring their hearty love for the parent State, and deliberating with us how

they may best discharge the great duty entrusted to their hands, and give their aid in developing the teeming resources of these vast possessions. And well, Mr. Speaker, may the work we have unitedly proposed rouse the ambition and energy of every true man in British America."

I have undertaken, Mr. Speaker, to read to this House the exact text of the speeches of the three principal authors of the Federative pact to show the spirit that animated those giants of our political history, Cartier, Brown and Macdonald.

To preserve our language it was placed on the same footing as the English language in Parliament, and in the administration of the federal courts ; to safeguard our influence, they fixed at sixty-five the permanent number of our representation, which became the basis of representation for the other provinces, according to the fluctuations of our population and theirs : to protect the rights of minorities assurance was given of free religious instruction in separate schools, as in the past.

No wonder that in the elections of 1867, the province of Quebec voted almost solidly for Cartier and Confederation, electing 53 of his followers out of 65 members.

In the first years of Confederation the Quebec leader was the dominating power at Ottawa.

Thanks to him, the Intercolonial, instead of going direct from Rivière-du-Loup to St. John, N.B., was constructed by the longer and more expensive route, by way of the Baie des Chaleurs, so as to assure to the people on the lower St. Lawrence the advantages of the railway. It was the official representative of the province of Quebec, minister of militia, who prepared and had passed almost unanimously our first military law. It was he who prepared and had passed the act creating the province of Manitoba, and finally secured for the Province of Quebec the terminus at Montreal of the Canadian Pacific Railway, which has done so much for the development of the metropolis of which we are all so proud.

After the disappearance of Cartier, it may be said that the influence of Quebec in federal affairs was less preponderant, on account of the quality of our representatives ; but on the whole the province was satisfied, and supported Sir John A. Macdonald up to the time of his death in 1891.

Then Laurier came into power in 1896, and there was seen, under his administration, the golden age of Confederation, the realization of the dream of the founders of the system. With a French-Canadian at the head of affairs, peace and harmony reigned among all races and all religions. All the provinces were proud, while preserving their characteristic traits, their individuality, to form part of a compact whole, conscious of its strength, and we could legitimately hope to become a powerful and respected nation.

Laurier, by the construction of the National Transcontinental, added a new link of steel to those that joined the provinces together, while assuring the development of a new province of Quebec towards the north of our territory, by establishing at Quebec the terminus of the line and constructing there a wonderful bridge, he tried to do for the old city of Champlain what the C.P.R., had done for Montreal and create in our province a new commercial and industrial metropolis ; finally, by the organization of the new provinces in 1905, Laurier seemed to have completed the work of Confederation.

Up to 1911, we may say that Quebec played in Confederation the role that fitted her, that of dean, or senior partner. The defeat of Laurier in 1911 was the signal for a slackening of our influence at Ottawa, a diminution of the respect of the other provinces for our opinion, and our rights as free citizens of this country. Why ?

Mr. Speaker, does not this situation coincide with, and was it not caused by the Nationalist campaign, which, under pretext of combatting out and out and unreasonable Imperialism, has undermined Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his influence, diminished his prestige, here and elsewhere, and, to gain its ends, in 1910 and 1911, accepted the money and support of the Ontario Tories, who, through the mouth of Sir George Foster, had given the order : "Anything to beat Laurier". The spirit of a part of our population was perverted ; a great number ceased to think of Canada, and confined their thoughts to Quebec ; instead of thinking as Canadians, many were content to think as provincials ; our national interests became parochial affairs ; from the great dream of Cartier and the Fathers of Confederation, this Nationalist campaign brought us down to the level of the diatribes of Mr. Bourassa, who, by his talent, his knowled-

ge, and his subtlety recalls the byzantine discussions that occupied Constantinople while the barbarians were at her gates. Cartier and the Province of Quebec, in 1867, did want a strong nation, united to cooperate in England's work in the world. Under pretext of limiting our obligations to England, Mr. Bourassa told us that we owed her nothing. The war of 1914 broke out. When England and France, at last united, called the whole world to their assistance to down the German colossus and save civilization, Mr. Bourassa and his friends spoke, wrote and agitated against England and against France and seemed almost to side with Germany.

These articles, these pamphlets, were translated and distributed in the other provinces, where the people believed they found in them the expression of our sentiments towards our two mother countries. Extremes call for extremes ; some people believed in good faith that Quebec was not loyal, and the Liberal party and its leader, who since 1905 had fought these extremists in the two old provinces, fell victims to their exaggerations.

As a consequence, the immediate influence of Quebec at Ottawa, in the council of ministers, seems to have diminished as a result of the refusal of the province to elect a single French follower of the present government.

Is this extraordinary state of affairs, brought about by abnormal circumstances, sufficient cause to seriously consider the dissolution of the federal bond? No, I do not think so, Mr. Speaker.

The motion does not say so, besides. The fault of this motion is that it asks us to discuss a hypothesis, an unreal question. Never, today nor in the future, will the other provinces believe that we are an obstacle to the development of Confederation. It is impossible.

We are its centre, its kernel. Without Quebec, Confederation would not exist. It would be left into two helpless sections.

The motion is perhaps a clever way of embarrassing the jingoes and fanatics who have denounced us for so many years, by telling them, as the popular expression says, to "put up or shut up".

I do not like its wording. The day Quebec should decide to leave Confederation, we will take this decision ourselves, because that would be advantageous to us, and not on account of the wish or the opinion of the other provinces. We are not concerned to that degree as to what people say!

Besides, such attitude would not befit the province whose population, to quote the happy expression of the Prime Minister on a memorable occasion, is the "dean" of the country. It is not because certain newcomers in the western provinces and elsewhere, the latest arrivals in the country, do not know how to apply the principles of the constitution and treat us as equals, that this province should take the attitude of Cinderella and, the hand on the doorknob, say to her sister provinces : "I will go, if you all want me to." That is an undignified attitude, and it is not in the traditions of our race to sink under a wave of insults.

We have the right and the duty to remain at the head of Confederation and we must see that the other provinces know it.

We will remain, because the descendants of Cartier, of Champlain, of Maisonneuve, of Frontenac and their companions have freedom throughout Canada, and their language and religion as well.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific, I might say from the Gulf of Mexico to Hudson's Bay, the French race has made its mark, and this is not the time to abdicate—even conditionally or hypothetically—the role and the providential mission that we have to carry out on this land of America for which our father worked so much, suffered so much. We will continue, despite insults, to multiply, to spread everywhere, to work for the economic development of the Province of Quebec, to open Northern Ontario to colonization, to swarm in the West ; before 25 years, we may be a majority in New Brunswick. But we will also continue to give the example of tolerance and justice to minorities in observing to the letter the articles of the constitutional act! (Applause).

We will continue, on this land of America, throughout Canada and beyond, the role of France in Europe, the Catholic nation par excellence spreading abroad the reign of the beautiful and the true. (Applause).

In the midst of races swallowed up in material interests, the cult of the ideal and of art must be spread by us. It was Lord Dufferin who said in 1878, in an official speech : "Wipe out from the history of Europe the great deeds done by France, take away from European civilization what France has furnished, and you will see what an immense void there will be left. My warmest aspiration, said the noble Lord, for this province has always been to see the French inhabitants fulfil for Canada the functions that France herself so admirably fulfilled for Europe."

WE ARE A LIVING TESTIMONY

To carry out this role we must continue to form part of the Canadian unity and contribute to its development by the qualities of our race. But we will none the less persist, according to the spirit of the constitution, in preserving our individuality intact. I will close by quoting in this regard and admirable page from a young French writer, who died in Canada some years ago, Louis Hémon.

At the end of his novel, the heroine, Maria Chapdelaine, the type of the courageous and robust Canadian woman, decides to remain in the country after hearing the voice of the "country of Quebec, which was half the song of a woman and half the sermon of a priest. It came like the sound of a bell, like the august clamor of the organ in a church, like a naive complaint and like the long, piercing shout by which woodsmen call one another in the woods. For, in truth, everything that makes the soul of the province was in this voice, the dear solemnity of the old religious rites, the sweetness of the old tongue jealously guarded, the splendor and barbaric force of the new country in which an old race has recovered its adolescence. It said :

"We came three hundred years ago and we have remained. Those who brought us here could return among us without bitterness and without chagrin, for, if it is true that we have learned little, assuredly we have forgotten nothing.

"We brought from across the sea our prayers and songs : they are still the same. We brought in our breasts the heart of the men of our country, valiant and spirited, as quick to pity as to laughter, the most human heart among all human hearts ;

it has not changed. We marked a plan of the new continent, from Gaspé to Montreal, from St. Jean d'Iberville to Ungava, saying : "Here all the things we brought with us, our religion, our language, our virtues, and even our weaknesses become sacred, intangible things, which must remain to the end."

"Aroun us came strangers....They have taken almost all the power. They have acquired almost all the money. But in the country of Quebec nothing has changed. Nothing will change because we are a living testimony. Of ourselves and our destinies we have understood clearly only this duty ; to persist, to maintain ourselves.. And we have maintained ourselves, perhaps so that, in several centuries hereafter, the world will turn to us and say : These people are a race who cannot die.

"We are a living testimony.

"That is why we must remain in the province where our fathers lived, and live as they lived, to obey the unwritten commandment which took hape in their hearts, which has passed into ours, and which we must transmit in turn to numerous children :

In the land of Quebec nothing must die and nothing must change!".

Mr. Speaker, it is by continuing steadfast this splendid part and in having it understood and respected, that we will on this soil of America continue to carry on the deeds of God. "Gesta Dei per Francos"!

(The speaker is warmly applauded after that eloquent peroration.)

LETOURNEAU, LOUIS ALFRED (Quebec East). S. of F. X. Letourneau and Philomène Gauthier des Morency. French-Canadians. B. Aug. 7, 1872, at St. Famille, Orleans Island. Ed. at St. Famille. M. July 4, 1899, to Ludevene Letourneau. Children: Fernande, Antoinette, Robert, Cecile, Yvonne, Rodolphe, Jean, Louis. A merchant. Member of the firm of Paradis & Letourneau. Mem. of firm of Quebec Preserving Co. First elec. to Quebec Legis. at g.e., June, 1908. Re-elec. g.e., 1912, and g.e., 1916. A Roman Catholic. A Liberal. 12 Smith St., Quebec.

LOUIS LETOURNEAU

Member for Quebec East

Mr. Speaker —

I have only a few remarks to make to explain my attitude in regard to the motion presented by the honorable member for Lotbinière. If this motion was drawn to ask, as a section of the press would have believed, that the federal pact be disrupted, I would ask its author to put me in touch with the problems that it would raise, and to tell me the practical means whereby we may face the situation.

After the campaign of prejudice and insults made against the province of Quebec, after the threats of isolation that were made openly against us, it is necessary, even though we issue no ultimatum, that we make it understand to the politicians with short visions and to the profiteers who have acted like manikins, that contrary to what they wish to think, because they are totally ignorant of the political and economic history of our country, that we should not be more attached to Confederation than we ought to be. That is the intent of the motion of the deputy of Lotbinière.

I say that this motion is opportune and comes at its proper hour, and I am not surprised that it has occasioned a great deal of interest, not only in this province, but in all parts of Canadian territory.

In effect, Mr. Speaker, it cannot be but noted, if we look at recent political events, that the voice of blood, for a very strong part of the Canadian population, has unfortunately counted more in the scale than the true national sentiment which should unite all the nine provinces of the Confederation together.

Our people, it may be said to their honor, has always profited by the lessons that events have brought about, but it is regrettable that the lure of power harried away too great

number of politicians who preferred honors to honor, and who thought it proper to abandon their principles under the false pretext of national unity, when, in reality, they only succeeded in raising race against race and have brought us back to the dark days of 1841, breaking in the course of several weeks, the work accomplished by our fathers in the battle for responsible government, and weakening in its base the policy followed by the greatest statesman our race has produced.

In effect, it is recognized, the great statesman who for 15 years presided over our destinies, managed to overcome the rivalries of race and religion and to bring about concord and good feeling between the citizens of the Dominion.

It we are now a drawback to the development of the other provinces, if because of our essentially Canadian mentality which keeps us to the soil, we prevent the expansion of another mentality, if, because of our large families in our homes, we cause umbrage to our partners and inspire them with fears, it is then that we can no longer live in harmony.

It is time that the province of Quebec replied in dignified manner to all the incendiary appeals that have been made to our detriment

Mr. Létourneau expressed his surprise at the speech of the leader of the Opposition, stating :

Does he ignore that this motion is the result of the absolutely antipathetic sentiments expressed against our national sentiments? We see the sad spectacle of a paid press endeavoring to have us pass as disloyal subjects of the British Empire for which our fathers, more than once, have shed their blood on the field of battle and to which they never slackened in their duty and energy

Do you not think, Mr. Speaker, that by this improper campaign, we have unfortunately been made to appear in the eyes of France, our ancient mother country, as a race of cowards and poltroons, when it is a patent fact that our hearts have beaten in unison with the civilized world, and that we are heart and soul for the triumph of civilization over barbarism.

If we are in the way in the Confederation, let them tell us so

If we are to suffer a rupture, we should politically speaking prepare to be divorced

This is not revolt, nor is it disloyalty, it is above all an act that impartial history will appreciate.

That is why I am in favor of discussing this motion.

Permit me in my quality as manufacturer and agent to make some remarks on the subject of isolation that some of my compatriots are trembling before. In order to take account of the economic position that we occupy, and if we were called on to form a separate autonomous state, it is necessary to inquire if our province, which is essentially agricultural, can buy at home those things which it at present buys in Ontario and the West, and thereby encourages the industries of these provinces. There is more here than is thought. We produce agricultural machinery ; we have the foundry of Beauceville ; Beauchemin and Fils, of Sorel ; A. Bélanger, of Montmagny ; la Cie Carette of Quebec ; J.-A. Desjardins, of Rigaud ; J.-B. Doré and Fils, of Montreal ; and The Matthew Moody and Sons, of Terrebonne.

We have also manufacturers of pianos and organs : Craig Pianos Co., of Montreal, Gingras and Bros., Montreal ; A. Lesage, of Ste. Thérèse ; Antonio Pratte, of Montreal ; Sénechal and Quindoz, of Ste. Thérèse ; J.-M. Shaw and Co., Montreal, and the Willis Piano Company, Montreal.

We have several foundries which put stoves on the market for all kinds of markets and tastes ; manufacturers of wagons, among others, Joseph Bonhomme, of Montreal ; Arthur Ethier, of Montreal ; Granby Carriage Company ; Heney Carriage and Harness Co., of Montreal ; Joseph Ledoux, of Beloeil ; McLaughlin Carriage Works ; Thomas Stokes and Sons, of Burry ; The Desjardins Company, of St. André ; The Wagon Manufacturing Company, of Laurierville. For the past several years we have companies which prepare canned goods.

Meats, W. Clark and La Société Française de Spécialités Alimentaires, of Montreal ; also for smoke meats and vegetables, we have Wilfrid Lorrain, of Montreal ; J.-W. Windsor, of Montreal ; the works of Laprairie, of St. Pierre les Becquets and of Chambly.

I can extend this list much further and make in more complete, and I could add that with our natural resources, our water powers, our good roads, etc., there is not a single industry

of necessity in domestic economy that we could not make prosper in our province.

I will add that we have the key of navigation, also the summer terminal of the Atlantic traffic.

Permit me also to say that we need have no fear in the separation of Quebec from Ontario because with such a separation our consumers would be assured of having here all the products that they have need of, particularly in the big modern stores of St. Roch, without being obliged to appeal, through the good offices of the Postmaster, to Eaton's, Robert Simpsons or other merchants of Ontario.. I think that it is apropos to mention these things and that it is for a commercial man to bring these things forward. If we wish to prepare the future, it is well that the citizens of our province be on their guard.

Even if the motion of the deputy of Lotbinière had only this effect, it would have contributed to induce our fellow citizens to develop our industries, to improve our agriculture, it would have made those with capital think of launching new enterprises that would fortify our economic position, and show to those who do not wish to give our industry all the encouragement that it deserves, and show those who rush to send their money to foreign enterprises, that they could procure in their own province the products that they had need of.

In conclusion, this motion will give re-birth to the confidence that we should have in ourselves, and which has always been the source of strength of the other races in this country.

Before taking my seat, may I be permitted to say that the idea which dominated at the formation of the Canadian confederation was never put into practice, and consequently justice has not always been done to all the Canadian people. As I said at the commencement of my remarks, I was surprised to hear the leader of the Opposition say that nothing had been done to attack the constitution. Does he not recall certain provinces, which one after the other, took away from a part of the population their most dear and sacred rights that were recognized by the federal pact. Is it not true by interpretations more or less equivocal and more or less hidden intrigue that they have succeeded in depriving the children of the first pioneers of their maternal language and to banish from their schools the religion of their ancestors.

Again, and lastly, Mr. Speaker, has not a sacriligious hand been laid on the arch of the confederation in attacking provincial autonomy and wishing with a stroke of the pen to deprive us of our right, so long recognized, of contracting our loans ourselves? It is permissible to think that this is a conspiracy specially directed against the province of Quebec because this province is the only province in the Confederation which produces a surplus.

Thanks to the impulse given by the leader of this House to the spread of public education in all its forms, to the protection and improvement of the lot of the workingman, he has been able to make, by his wise administration, the finest, the most grand, and the best educated province, and the one most prosperous in the Dominion.

Furthermore, the prime minister, proper follower of the policy of Mercier and Parent, has always continued to defend provincial autonomy and those who wish to attack our rights do not know the ability of which he is the master, and which he never fails to employ when we are passing through a difficult crisis.

We can look forward to the future with a serene eye, what ever happens, and the site of our native province can never be changed, traversed as it is by the fine and majestic St. Lawrence, the size and majesty of which is the admiration of all strangers, and which seems to get narrower as it approaches the neighboring province,—a living image of the difference in mentality that exists between the two provinces.

To resume, I will say that this motion is not a defiance but is simply a chivalrous invitation, and that the threat of isolation does not prevent anyone from sleeping nor eating, even if it were put into execution

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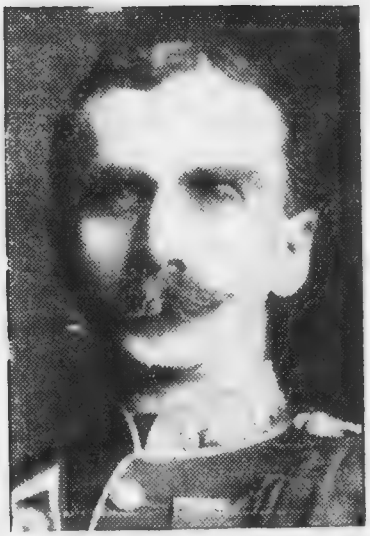

GAULT, CHARLES ERNEST (Montreal St. George). S. of Matthew H. Gault, for many yrs. mem. of Parliament for the old constituency of "Montreal West", and E. J. Bourne, his wife. B. Sept. 19, 1861, at Montreal. Ed. at Montreal High School and the Proprietary Coll. M. Sept. 25, 1890, to Florence Fairbanks. Stock broker. Director Montreal Loan and Mortgage Co. Major the 5th Royal Highlanders of Canada. First elec. to Legis. Assem. at g.e., 1904, re-elec. 1908, 1912 and 1916. Church of England. A Conservative. Montreal.

CHARLES ERNEST GAULT

Member for St. George's-Montreal.

(From the Montreal Gazette).

Mr. Gault asked if the Francœur motion were adopted, and if it were carried to the Dominion House and action taken there, what would be the ultimate effect He asked this, he said from a hypothetical point of view.

"We would be separated from the rest of the Dominion", he said. "I think that the first thing that would happen would be that there would be a demand that the Island of Montreal be separated from the rest of the province, as by itself it pays 77 per cent, or well over 75 per cent, of the taxes of the province. Another result would be that there would be tariff walls' all around the Province of Quebec, which would ruin the manufacturing establishments and affect the province very seriously in its economic situation.

"The next thing would be the independence of Quebec," continued Mr. Gault. "This is almost unthinkable, and would be ruinous. It would be going back to the condition of about fifty years ago. With the extra expense that would have to be paid by the province alone, it would be unable to stand the burden. The full cost of military and naval defence would be too much for the province.

"In addition we would have to take our share of the financial burdens of the Dominion of Canada on leaving Confederation, which would be about three hundred million dollars. The interest of this would be fifteen million dollars per year, which would be ruinous.

"The next thing would be annexation to the United States. If another power attacked the province, the United States would have to come in and annexation would follow. Annexation would mean that we would lose our laws, and especially the laws as to the French language, and the educational department would be made on non-denominational lines.

"The member for Lotbinière referred to speeches made by Mr. Rowell and others which no doubt are exaggerated. He spoke of attacks on the Roman Catholic Church. Some people in Ontario have felt that the Roman Catholic Church has not been sympathetic to the Allies. I do not believe it myself, but it has caused a great deal of feeling among the population of this country. The feeling is that, while not antagonistic, the Church is not sympathetic. These reports should be contradicted and the people of Ontario made to feel that they are not correct. Many of them have given the best of their families in this war, and their feelings are therefore very strong in the matter, and it is very difficult for the English people of Ontario to understand why the people here have not taken more interest in the war.

"If there was ever a cause that should appeal to the hearts and minds of the French-Canadians, it is the fight now going on in Europe. No one can speak more highly of the valor of our own boys who have gone to the front. The heroism they have displayed is magnificent. It was found necessary to send more divisions, and each did nobly and has shed lustre on the name of Canada, and given Canada a name as the home of the brave and true, and advertised Canada in a way that was never before known. These men have kept us here, living in peace and comfort, and it is for us to send over everything to support them, and not only more men, but it is necessary, if we are to win the war, to send everything else, such as food. It is necessary that every person in this country should appreciate the necessity of some sacrifice. The war is far off, and we are led to believe that the war is won. We have hopes that before long peace will be in sight but as far as an ordinary man can see there is no peace yet. It may be one year, two years, three years, but in the meantime the lowest and the greatest, the richest and the poorest will have to deny themselves something so that the war may be carried on successfully."

Turning his eyes to the crowded galleries where there were many young men, Mr. Gault added: "There are many here who are physically fit and who should be on the other side. All should take some part. Every one is able to do something, and far better to help than to have the Germans come in. So far we know the Germans are as strong as ever. They have not

been beaten. They hold parts of France, Belgium, Russia, Poland, Serbia, Rumania and other places."

Mr. Gault, turning from the war to more immediate problems at home, continued: "The first thing that caused trouble in Canada, was the school matter in Ontario. This matter would have been settled to the satisfaction of all interested had not this war started. I believe the English-speaking majority of the Province of Ontario are anxious and willing to do all that is right and honorable and just to give justice to every one of the inhabitants of Ontario. There is no doubt there are extremists in Ontario, but there are some also in Quebec.

There were many acts in the last election in this province which did not look well. We had speakers assaulted—Ministers of the Crown, Every man should be allowed to express his opinion, though it may not agree with others. It is one of the rights of our constitution, and it seems to me and others that it was a great pity that the leaders of the French-Canadians did not undertake more strenuous measures to counteract this attitude. It is a matter of regret also that our honorable Treasurer and honorable Prime Minister should have refused representation in the Government of Canada. Everyone believes that it would have been a great thing for the removal of the causes of the trouble, and all races would have been well looked after."

Hon. Mr. Taschereau broke in to say that there had been troubles in Ontario and elsewhere in the election campaign, and instanced Vancouver. He said it was not right to blame the French-Canadian leaders for the trouble.

Mr. Gault explained that he had not blamed the French-Canadian leaders, but had regretted that the leaders had not taken measures to counteract the attitude taken in this province.

A member called "Sherbrooke" and Mr. Gault said that was where the Unionist Ministers had been assaulted.

GREGOIRE, GEORGE STANISLAS, M.D., M.L.A. (Frontenac). B. 6th Nov., 1854, at Restigouche, C. Bonaventure, S. of Jos. Mathias Gregoire and his wife, Susan Beaulieu, French-Canadians. Educ. at Quebec, degree M.D. at Laval Univ. M. July 1, 1880, to Virginia Legendre, dau. of Edward Legendre, of Ste. Ours, Que. Four children; two married. A physician. A Roman Catholic. A Liberal. Elec. 1912; re-elec. 1916. Lake Megantic, Frontenac, Que.

Dr. GEORGE STANISLAS GRÉGOIRE

Member for Frontenac

Mr. Speaker :

I wish to make a few remarks in answer to the hon. member for St. George's-Montreal. What I have to say may not please the hon. leader of this House. He is master in his own house, and an able master, and he holds what he has. We may well apply to him the title of our English bull-dog, holding what he has. If the English are proud of their bull-dog, so may we be proud of ours. He is the Moses who will lead his people out of bondage.

The hon. member for St. George's-Montreal said that the Canadians of Quebec should not harbor the thought of enmity against their neighbors of Ontario. He said that both sides had gone to extremes in the last electoral contest. In the second place he asked whether annexation would help us any, and whether, under annexation, our language and religion would help us any, and whether, under annexation, our language and religion would be better protected.

I answer : Are we to blame for the mistatements and conflict that marked the last electoral battle? Did we betray one iota of the trust confided in us by the United Kingdom? Was there a single cry from us of annexation to the neighboring Republic, such as came from the very heart of Toronto : "Annexation before Conscription!". Did we advocate the dissolution of Confederation?

The hon. member for St. George's appeals for union between the sister provinces and holds out the olive branch to us. Can he expect our people to offer him the hand in token of amity when our face has just been crimsoned, flushed and scarred by the lash of the stigma of cowardice?

Let bygones be bygones, he says, and yet his friends abide by their improper gains over our trust and fealty made by trampling upon our rights and the sanctity of our treaties.

History offers no record even in ancient times of such disrespect for sacred alliances and compacts as has been openly professed and practised in this Twentieth Century on this hemisphere of ours. None but the Prussians, the present day foes of Christian civilization, could attempt to reconcile such attacks on eternal justice with the right of peoples.

I say to the hon. member for St. George's-Montreal; you are a great people, but if you claim your descent from William of Orange, we are the sons of Louis IX, the Charlemagnes, the Rolands, the Montcalms, the Frontenacs. On this rock of destiny of Quebec we were present when Montgomery was hurled over the ramparts, horse and all. We were at the Thermopylae of Chateauguay. Where were you then?

It was Lord Dufferin who said that ours would be the last gun to defend British possessions in this part of the world, and Lord Grey's voice echoed the sentiment in 1911.

We ask for no dissolution of Confederation. In your own hand was the knife that frayed the band holding our union together. And let the fault be laid at your door.

Were such dissolution to occur, our Province stands the highest, the richest of them all, and the question arises, where would Ontario be. We saved you from bankruptcy in 1840, when you begged for union with Lower Canada. What gratitude have you shown us since? And if you were once isolated in this Dominion, the West being soldered to the United States, the Maritime Provinces forced by their common interest to throw in their lot with us, what would become of your splendid isolation then?

The French-Canadians have done their utmost. They have been patient for two and a half centuries, especially during the last fifty years. We want peace, but does Ontario want peace? The time has come to talk as man to man. We of the Province of Quebec have done our part. We are not worthy of the stigma of cowardice. (Dr Grégoire, whose son is at the front, was warmly applauded)

GOUIN, HON. SIR LOMER, K.C.M.G. Portneuf. S. of N. Gouin, M.D., and S. Frigere, his wife. B. at Grondines, Que., March 19, 1861. Ed. at Sorel and Levis. Called to the Bar, 1884. A former partner of Judge Pagnuelo, and later of Hon. H. Mercier, whose d. Elize he married, 1888. In g.e., 1891, unsuccessfully contested Richelieu for Ho. of Commons. Was for a term an ald. for the city of Montreal. El. to Legis. at g.e., 1897, 1900 and 1904. El. in Portneuf at g.e., of 1908; and defeated in Montreal No. 2 div. at the same date. At the general election of 1912 was elected in two divisions, Portneuf and St. Johns. Electing to sit for Portneuf he resigned the seat for St. Johns. Re-elec. g.e., 1916. Min. of Public Works in Parent Admin. Resigned from Parent Admin., Nov. 3, 1904. On March 20, 1905 he was called upon to form a Govt. on the resignation of Mr. Parent, which he succeeded in doing March 23, taking himself the office of Attorney-General, which he still retains. Received the honour of Knighthood at the hands of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, at the Quebec Tercentenary Celebration, 1908. Created K.C.M.G., 1911. A Liberal. Quebec.

SIR LOMER GOUIN

Prime Minister of Quebec.

Mr. Speaker : I have followed with close attention the interesting debate arising from the motion presented for our consideration. I have listened with pleasure to all those of my colleagues who have spoken on the question, and who have made us feel the charm of their fine and eloquent words. I am sure that I voice the unanimous feeling of the Chamber when I offer them my heartiest congratulations, and those of all the members as well.

As you know, Mr. Speaker, there was some nervousness with regard to this debate in the other provinces. Such fears must by this time be dissipated, and we can assert that never was a discussion carried on with greater calm, and greater dignity.

I have now some remarks to make, and I crave your indulgence. This is not because I am embarrassed by the view I am about to express, for it is firmly established in my mind, and has been for a long time. I may say, besides, that the Leader of the Opposition has made my task easier by tracing the broad lines of my speech, even going so far in his condescension as to prepare its conclusion. I crave the indulgence of this House, Sir, because I know that I cannot rise to the heights of eloquence reached by the hon. members who have preceded me. But the generous attention granted me on so many occasions heretofore by my colleagues in this House gives me encouragement, and I am confident that today they will accord me a kindly hearing once more.

The Francœur motion reads as follows : " That this House is of opinion that the Province of Quebec would be disposed to accept the breaking of the Federation Pact of 1867 if, in the other provinces, it is believed that she is an obstacle to the union, progress and development of Canada."

The hon. member for Lotbinière has stated the motives that induced him to present this motion. He wished to reply to

insulting words, to unjust articles that have appeared in certain newspapers. I am aware that the statement has been made that this was not his only motive. I know that it has been said that he was inspired by spite because of the result of the last election. The contention has also been made that he wanted, by means of this motion, to attack the Federal Government. Finally it was alleged that there was in his motion something bordering on disloyalty. And the latter is what causes me the greatest astonishment.

I ask myself why these statements could secure credence. The students of history, and those who followed events since 1867 will certainly find such criticism unjust.

If I may be allowed to open a chapter of the history of one of our sister provinces, I find that the Parliament of Nova Scotia, on April 8, 1886, adopted, by a vote of 15 to 7 ,a resolution the aim of which was to bring about the separation of that province from the Dominion of Canada. This resolution read as follows, and it was presented by the Prime Minister of that day, the Hon. W. S. Fielding, one of the most respected, one of the most distinguished men in Ca[illegible] politics

The Honourable the Provincial Secretary, pursuant to notice given on a previous day, moved that the House do come to the following resolutions, viz

That, previous to the Union of the Provinces, the Province of Nova Scotia was in a most healthy financial condition ;

That by the terms of the Union the chief sources of revenue were transferred to the Federal Government ;

That strong objections were taken at the time of the Union to the financial terms thereof, relating to the Province of Nova Scotia, as being wholly inadequate to meet the requirements of the various services left under the management of the Provincial Legislature

That an appeal was made to the Imperial Government for [illegible] of the Union as far as it related to this Province ;

That while they refused to assent to such repeal until a further trial of the Union was had, the Imperial Government, in the Colonial Secretary's despatch of the 10th June, 1868, to Lord Monck, requested that the Government and Parliament of Canada would modify any arrangement respecting taxation,

or respecting the regulation of trade and fisheries, which might prejudice the interests of Nova Scotia ;

That on the 6th day of October, 1868, the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, in a letter to the Honourable Joseph Howe, referring to the above despatch, stated as follows :

" The Canadian Government are not only ready but anxious to enter upon a frank and full discussion of these points, and are prepared, in case the pressure of taxation should be shown to be unequal or unjust to Nova Scotia, to relieve that pressure by every means in their power. They are also ready to discuss any financial or commercial questions that may be raised by the Nova Scotia Government of yourself or representatives of Nova Scotia in the Parliament of the Dominion " : and he further said : " You may remember that I suggested to the Committee that Mr. Annaud, the Finance Minister of the Province, or any other gentleman selected for the purpose, should visit Ottawa and sit down with the Finance Minister here, for the purpose of ascertaining whether any inequality or injustice exists, the extent of such inequality, and the best remedy, and I now reiterate the assurance I then gave, that the Government here will consider the question, not in a rigid, but in the most liberal spirit, with a desire to do even more than justice for the sake of securing the co-operation of the people of Nova Scotia in working out the new constitution. We will enter upon the inquiry whenever it will suit your convenience, and the Canadian Government engage to press upon Parliament, with all the influence they possess, the legislation required to carry out any financial readjustment that may be agreed to. "

That the Dominion Government and Parliament have never carried out the request or desire of the Imperial Government and the promise of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, as above quoted ;

That after nineteen years under the Union, successive Governments have found that the objections which were urged against the terms of Union at first apply with still greater force now than in the first year of the Union, and the feeling of discontent with regard to the financial arrangement is now believed by this House to be more general and more deeply fixed than ever before ;

That Nova Scotia, previous to the Union, had the lowest tariff, and was, notwithstanding, in the best financial condition of any of the provinces entering the Union ;

That the commercial as well as the financial condition of Nova Scotia is in an unsatisfactory and depressed condition ;

That it seems evident that the terms of the "British North America Act", combined with the high tariff and fiscal laws of the Dominion, are largely the cause of this unsatisfactory state of the finances and trade of Nova Scotia ;

That there is at present no prospect that, while the Province remains upon the existing terms of Union a member of the Canadian Federation, any satisfactory improvement in the foregoing respects, is at all probable ;

That previous to 1867, negociations were in progress for a Union of the Maritime Provinces, but were interrupted by the negotiations for the larger Union ;

That it now appears as it did then, that the interests of the people of the several Maritime Provinces now incorporated with Canada are in most respects identical ;

That the members of this branch of the Legislature of Nova Scotia, are of opinion, and do hereby declare their belief, that the financial and commercial interests of the people of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island would be advanced by these Provinces withdrawing from the Canadian Federation and uniting under one Government

That if it be found impossible, after negotiations for that purpose, to secure the co-operation of the respective Governments of the sister provinces in withdrawing from the Confederation and entering instead into a Maritime Union, then this Legislature deems it absolutely necessary that Nova Scotia, in order that its railways, and other public works and services may be extended and maintained as the requirements of the people need them ; its industries properly fostered, its commerce invigorated and expanded, and its financial interests placed upon a sound basis, such as was the case previous to Confederation, should ask permission from the Imperial Parliament to withdraw from the Union with Canada, and return to the status of a Province of Great Britain, with full control over all fiscal laws and tariff regulations within the Province, such as prevailed previous Confederation ;

That this House thus declares its opinion and belief, in order that candidates for the suffrages of the people at the approaching elections may be enabled to place this vital and important question of separation from Canada, before them for decision at the polls.

Which being seconded, and a debate arising thereon, the question being propounded from the chair that such resolution be agreed to, and the House dividing thereon, there appeared for the motion, fifteen ; against the motion, seven (1).

In the election that followed, Mr. Speaker, the people of Nova Scotia expressed themselves almost unanimously in favor of the breaking of the Confederation Pact. Was there recrimination in Quebec or in the other provinces at that time against Nova Scotia? Were the Hon. Mr. Fielding and the people of his province accused of disloyalty?

It is a parallel case with conscription. It was made a crime for Quebec to discuss this question ; above all, it was considered a crime for her to vote as she did in the last election. Why was not the same reproach cast upon New Brunswick, on Nova Scotia, province of the Prime Minister of Canada, both of which gave a majority against conscription? Or upon Prince Edward Island, which declared almost unanimously against that measure? That is not impartiality. That is injustice. That is not the British fair play which we have the right to demand in the Province of Quebec, as in the other provinces of Confederation. (Applause.)

And, since I speak of fair play, I may remark that the Leader of the Opposition can hardly be said to have made use of it towards me the other day. He had forged a thunderbolt with which he was to destroy me, and his organ L'Evenement had given us premonitory rumblings of it in the sensational manner you know of. My hon. friend spoke well, he was eloquent, and, at certain moments, he was courageous. But, as was evident, at the same time as he repudiated his former alliances, he wished to arrange a pardon for himself from his friends of yesterday, and, to that end, he found nothing better than to take me to task.

After having prepared for weeks, in darkness and mystery,

(1).—(Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Province of Nova Scotia, Session 1886)

his speech and the amendment that was to serve as its conclusion, he hailed me before a notary (the hon. member for Lac St. Jean) (1) a bare hour before the sitting, and enjoined me in dulcet tones to propose that amendment which he did not dare present himself.

I refused! I refused, Sir, because the amendment was not acceptable, because it was out of order, because the hon. Leader of the Opposition would not have voted for it himself, and finally, because I am not the man to raise in the hearts of my compatriots false hopes that can bring forth nothing but deceptions. (Appl.)

That amendment had for its purpose to ask disallowance of the Conscription Act. It would have had no result...

MR. SAUVÉ : If the Prime Minister wishes to take up this amendment I declare that I will support it. On the other hand, if he promises me the support of the Government majority, I am ready to present it myself.

SIR LOMER GOUIN : The Leader of the Opposition can present whatever amendments he likes. So long as these amendments conform to the rules of the House, and are in the interest of the province and the country, I can assure him of my co-operation.

But the Leader of the Opposition now tries in vain to go back on his attitude. He well knows that the people of the province did not take him seriously. Our people, as well as the hon. members of this House, understood that the tactics of my hon. friend were nothing more than an election manoeuvre.

We have no right, Mr. Speaker, to play with the sincerity of the good people of this province. Disallow the act ? Could the province possibly pronounce itself more unanimously, more solemnly on this question than it did during the last appeal to the people ? (Long applause.) On the other hand, is it believable that the amendment prepared and hatched so lovingly by the Leader of the Opposition would be enough to make the Imperial Government disallow the Conscription Act ? The hon. member for Two Mountains (M. Sauvé) had a better inspiration when he maintained that we should leave to Sir Wilfrid Laurier the task of preparing the ground and finding a solution to the problem.

He reproached me because I did not go to Ottawa when conscription was being discussed. Had I gone, he would have

(1) M. Turcotte

reproached me for meddling in matters that did not concern me He would even have held me responsible, I am certain, for the defections from the ranks of the Liberal party. Besides, if it was my duty to go to Ottawa, was it not also the duty of the Leader of the Opposition ? Why did he not go and at least try to convince his friends who are responsible for this Conscription Act because of which he repudiates them today ?

MR. SAUVE : I declared myself against conscription. The Prime Minister for his part, made no declaration while the debate was proceeding.

SIR LOMER GOUIN : I declared myself at the very first hour. It is true that I added that I had absolute confidence in Sir Wilfrid Laurier. I said that we should follow his guidance, just as the hon. member suggests today. So he contradicted himself when he reproached me the other day for the speeches I delivered during the last campaign.

MR SAUVE : I criticized their violence.

SIR LOMER GOUIN : I merely expounded the elements of our Parliamentary right, the elements of English constitutional law. I did no more than define British liberty. (Appl.) And if the Leader of the Opposition obeyed the dictates of his heart and his reason he would congratulate me on what I did just as I congratulate him on speaking as he has, on taking issue with those who govern us at Ottawa. (Loud applause.)

Truly, my hon. friend would have been better advised to suppress this sensational idea that cost him so much work. Besides, all the trouble he has given himself has done him little good. The newspaper The Chronicle told him, indeed, the day after his speech, and in very clear language ; "Believe or die". And L'Evenement, which, on Friday, offered him its finest incense, on Saturday by order, ex-communicated him, in fact, neither more nor less. And so he has shown us yet again that "the thunderbolt does not fall every time there is thunder," and the sensation prepared by my hon. friend has produced the effect that came about when in days gone by the mountain brought forth a mouse.

MR. SAUVÉ : It served to announce the coming of a Cromwell.

SIR LOMER GOUIN : When I spoke of Cromwell, Mr. Speaker, I was merely quoting from the great Conservative organ, the Gazette.

MR. SAUVÉ : Two friends!

SIR LOMER GOUIN : Yes, and I am not ashamed of it. I am sorry for Mr. Sauvé, his speeches have not appeared there for a long time.

(As Mr. Sauvé kept on interrupting, the Prime Minister protested.)

SIR LOMER GOUIN : I beg of the Leader of the Opposition that he accord me the same attention I gave him. It is not that I fear his interruptions. He will see, as my speech develops, that I am quite prepared to reply to him. (Outburst of appl.) And now let us come to the motion.

"I BELIEVE IN THE CANADIAN CONFEDERATION"

I wish to make my position on this subject very clear Mr. Speaker. I believe in the Canadian Confederation. (Long appl.) Federal government appears to me to be the only possible one in Canada because of our differences of race and creed, and also because of the variety and multiplicity of local needs in our immense territory. (Applause.)

To make myself more clear I declare that if I had been a party to the negotiations of 1864, I would certainly have tried, had I had authority to do so, to obtain for the French Canadian minority in the sister provinces the same protection that was obtained for the English minority in the province of Quebec. I would not have asked that as a concession but as a measure of justice. And even if it had not been accorded me I would have voted in favor of the resolutions of 1864.

At the time of the debate of 1865, I would have renewed my demand for this measure of prudence and justice. And if I had not succeeded, I would still have declared myself in favor of the system as it was voted March 13, 1865. And even at this moment, Sir, in spite of the troubles that have arisen in the administration of our country since 1867, in spite of the trouble caused those people from Quebec who constitute the minority in the other provinces, if I had to choose between Confederation and the Act of

1791 or the Act of 1840-41, I would vote for Confederation still. (Long appl.)

It is a good thing to tell the young people, to tell those of riper years, to tell even the old who have not time to study history, that Confederation was not the result of a whim, nor an act lightly performed, but the result of an absolute necessity. This Act was freely accepted by Quebec. Had it not been for Cartier, had it not been for the popular wish of Lower Canada, we would not have had Confederation.

A PAGE OF HISTORY

Prior to 1865, for a number of years, Canada had been tending towards an impossible state of affairs. The administration was in a state of chaos. All our statesmen, all those who took part in public affairs, recognized and declared that there must be a change in our system of government and that the Act of Union of 1841 would not work any longer. However it must be admitted that that Act of Union, in spite of the injustice of its origin, did not prevent the country from growing and progressing from the agricultural point of view, and the standpoints of colonisation, trade, and industry. It was under the Union that our municipal institutions were established, that our schools developed, and that responsible government was granted us.

Ir was perhaps between the years 1840 and 1867 that the struggles of our political parties were the bitterest and most violent. But in spite of theses quarrels the offspring of the two great races settled and developed the country. Our fathers were able to carry on their work without bothering about the political storms that swept over Canada.

The speakers who preceded me have recalled the struggles of that period. The great cause of division between politicians and between the provinces was the question of representation.

Before Union the population of the Province of Quebec was 300,000 greater than that of Ontario. In 1844 Lower Canada had 200,000 more population than Upper Canada. In 1849 Papineau wished the amendment of the Act of 1841 which he considered unjust for Lower Canada, whose representation was the same as that of Upper Canada. He did not meet with success.

Later on it was Upper Canada that made the demand. Brown and his friends advocated the same policy without success. The divisions grew wider and wider. Since that time there has been heard on various occasions, and especially at election times : " No Quebec domination, no French domination ". It was well understood that for the safety of the country these struggles must be brought to an end. And in 1858 the Cartier-Macdonald Cabinet proposed the principle of Confederation. It is found in the Speech from the Throne delivered by Sir Edmund Head at the close of the Session :

" In the course of the vacation, I propose to enter into communication with the Government of His Majesty and with the Governments of our sister Colonies on another subject of very great importance. I wish to invite them to discuss with us the principles on which, later on, might be brought about a Union of a federal character among the provinces of British North America "

Cartier, Macdonald and their friends already believed that the only way of putting an end to the chaotic condition that existed was confederation of the provinces. However nothing was done that year beyond the sending of a delegation to England. In 1860, basing himself on resolutions adopted at a convention held in Toronto, Brown proposed the federation of Upper and Lower Canada. . Sir Aimé-Antoine Dorion and Messrs. mond and McGee, were the only members from Lower Ca to vote with Brown, and his proposal was defeated.

Then the parties renewed their quarrels and divisions, and they even forgot the proposals of 1858. In 1864 Brown offered the Taché-Macdonald Government the solution of the problem - Confederation.

The same year delegates from the colonies of British North America met in conference in Prince Edward Island, and then at Quebec, where the resolutions that formed the basis of the Constitution of 1867 were adopted.

At the Session of 1865 Sir E. F. Taché, Prime Minister of United Canada, in proposing the adoption of these resolutions, spoke as follows :

" The time has come when, I believe, all men who love their country should unite to seek a remedy for the evils with which we are menaced. It will be said perhaps that the remedy pro-

posed is not demanded by the circumstances, but I would like to know what other plan could be suggested.

" Le gislation in Canada has been almost paralyzed for the last two years, and if the laws passed since 1862 are consulted it will be seen that the only public measures among them were adopted solely with the consent of the Opposition. Such has been the condition of things for two years, and such has been the evil. But that is not the only one and we have another, no less great, to deplore. I refer to the administration of public affairs during the same period. From May 21, 1862 to the end of June 1864 the affairs of the country have been administered by no less than five Governments."

And Sir Etienne Pascal Tache added :

" At the time these measures were proposed (the Federation of the two Provinces or rather Confederation of all the English Colonies of North America) the country was actually on the verge of civil war."

After him Sir George Etienne Cartier said :

" It is necessary that we should adopt Confederation, else we will drift into annexation."

Sir John A. Macdonald saw three alternatives: representation based on population, annexation, or Confederation of the colonies.

Sir Aime-Antoine Dorion favored Federation of the two Provinces. He opposed Confederation of the Colonies through fear of legislative union. However he was ready to accept the government's proposal if the people approved of it.

Letellier de St. Just was absolutely opposed to Confederation unless the people were first consulted. He preferred the Act of Union with representation based on population.

The two great objections urged against Confederation in Lower Canada were fear of legislative union on the part of some and, on the part of others, fear lest the English minority be molested by the French majority. It was to reply to this latter objection that Sir E. P. Tache said, in the presence of the entire population of Ontario :

" If we secure a Federal union it will be the equivalent of a separation of the provinces and by that means Lower Canada will preserve her autonomy with all the institutions which are dear to her and over which she can exercise the surveillance

necessary to protect them from any danger. But there is one section of the inhabitants of Lower Canada who, at first glance, may have stronger reasons to complain than the French Canadian Catholics—they are the English Protestants. And why? Because they are in the minority. I believe however that if they will examine the project carefully in all its details they will be fully reassured as to the consequences. First of all it is necessary to point to a great event. The laws of Canada have been revised, and the inhabitants speaking the English language have familiarised themselves with them and are today fully satisfied. In this respect thay are, then, perfectly safe. They may allege perhaps that the majority in the local Legislature may later on commit injustices towards them, but I think that a look over the past will banish every fear. Prior to the union of the two provinces when the great majority of the members of the Legislature were French, the people of English origin never had any reason to complain of them. There is no instance of an injustice having been even attempted."

The Hon. Mr. McGee seconded this proud and noble declaration some days later when he said

"No more do I believe that my Protestant compatriots need have any fear whatever, for the French Canadians have never been intolerant."

And Sir John A. Macdonald added:

"The Government will present a measure to amend the school law of Lower Canada in order to protect the rights of the minority, and at the same time satisfy the majority, which always shown the greatest respect for the rights of the former and which, I have no doubt, will continue to respect them."

Mr. Speaker, all my predecessors, all the Prime Ministers of Quebec since 1867, would have been able to make that declaration of Sir E. P. Taché without fear of contradiction, and I repeat it today with pride, certain that I will be supported by all the representatives of the minority in this House, Conservatives and Liberals, just as the Prime Minister of 1865 was himself supported by McGee, Macdonald, and all the members from the two Canadas.

The proposals of 1864 were debated at length, ably and eloquently during the session of 1865. The Liberal and Conservative parties may well be proud of the leaders they had then, those men

we look upon as our political ancestors. After a debate lasting three months the majority declared itself in favor of Confederation. On March 13 the resolutions were passed, and on July 1, 1867 Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick became a Confederation by virtue of the British North America Act.

In 1870 Manitoba joined us and the same year the Canadian Government acquired the North West Territories. In 1871 British Columbia, in her turn, entered the Canadian Confederation, and in 1873 Prince Edward Island followed suit.

For fifty years now we have lived under this regime. We have had difficulties and quite violent disputes, but have we any right to say that the system has failed ? I believe we have not.

When I look at the results we have obtained, when I see the developments that have come about, when I take stock of our progress I am impelled to say, with Sir Wilfrid Laurier :

"The hopes of the Fathers of Confederation have been surpassed."

Allow me, Mr. Speaker, to quote some statistics to show this House a little of Canadian progress since 1857 :

AREA OF CANADA

In 1867 ..... 549,000 square miles
In 1917 ..... 3,729,665 square miles

POPULATION OF CANADA

In 1867 ..... 3,600,000 souls
In 1917 ..... 7,600,000 souls.

POPULATION OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

In 1861 ..... 1,110,664 souls.
In 1916 ..... 2,305,754 souls.

VALUE OF CROPS

The value of Canadian crops in the last fifteen years grew from $195,000,000in 1901, to $841,000,000 in 1917

EXPORT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

In 1868-70 Canada exported $13,000,000 worth of agricultural products. In 1916-17 she exported $480,000,000 worth.

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

In 1868 it was almost nothing; in 1917 its value was $1,300,000,000.

FISHERIES

In 1870 the value of our fisheries' products was $6,577,391; in 1915 it was $31,264,631.

MINES

In the last forty years the value of our mineral production has grown from $10,000,000 to $137,000,000

FORESTS

In 1871 the value of the forest products was $34,000,000. It is now $175,000,000.

RAILWAYS

	1867-76	1915
Miles in operation.....	$ 2,278	$ 35,582
Capital.....	257,037,188	1,875,810,888
Freight transported (in tons).....	5,670,836	101,393,889
Passengers carried.....	5,190,416	46,322,035

EDUCATION

From 1867 to the present time the number of schools in Canada increased from 10,000 to 26,000; the number of teachers from 11,000 to 39,000; the number of pupils from 664,000 to 1,327,000, and the cost of teaching from $2,500,000 to about $56,000,000.

Dorion, one of the finest and most noble figures of that day was suspicious of the federal system, and feared that the province would be swallowed up in the great Canadian whole. The enemies of the scheme said, as he did, that Confederation was nothing more nor less than an approach towards legislative union. Can it be said today that these fears and suspicions were well founded ? It is now fifty years since our province became part of Confederation and legislative union has not come. We have legislated and we will legislate freely from the municipal and educational point of view, and we have never been molested in the administration of our civil laws. The following list will show you the number of Provincial Statutes that were disallowed by the Federal Government during the first forty years of Confederation for the four pioneer provinces : Quebec 4 ; Ontario 9 ; Nova Scotia 5 ; New Brunswick 1.

No, sir, not one administration at Ottawa has, as yet, attempted to force us into legislative union.

My hon. friend from Rimouski (Mr. A. Tessier), in his splendid and very eloquent speech of yesterday, enumerated the attempts made by the Federal Government to encroach upon the Provincial domain. He first spoke to us on the fisheries question. There was, in that question, grounds for a lawsuit. We pleaded our case and we won. Then came that dispute with regard to the right to legislate concerning commercial corporations. We went before the Courts and we won once more. Finally there is the quite recent case of restrictions placed on the issue of provincial and municipal debentures. That will be another law suit which will be much more easily won than all those we had to fight in the past. (Loud applause.)

No sir, it is not differences of opinion of this character that can lead us to legislative union. Such differences of opinion arise in all federated countries. Look at our neighbors in the United States, where they are of daily occurrence.

Thanks to Confederation, thanks to our union with the sister provinces, our province has progressed in a marvellous manner, and it cannot be denied that it is Confederation that has made Montreal, the fourth city of North America in importance. And if we turn now towards the groups of French origin which have established themselves in the Canadian provinces, can it be said that Confederation has been unfavourable to

them? Would the [illegible]sition and their lot be better if Quebec broke the Confe[illegible] pact? Here, sir, is an interesting table which will show [illegible] the French Canadian population has progressed since 1867.

CENSUS OF 1861.

	French population	Total population
Lower Canada	867,320	1,110,664
Upper Canada	33,287	1,396,091

CENSUS OF 1911.

	French population	Total population
Alberta	19,825	374,663
British Columbia	8,907	392,480
Manitoba	30,944	455,614
New Brunswick	98,611	351,889
Nova Scotia	51,746	492,338
Ontario	202,442	2,523,274
Prince Edward Island	13,117	93,726
Quebec	1,605,339	2,002,712
Saskatchewan	23,251	492,432
Yukon	482	8,512
Territories	226	17,196
	2,051,896	7,204,838

That is to say, Sir, that there are today in Canada, outside the province of Quebec, nearly 500,000 French Canadians, or more than one half the number there were in the two Canadas in 1867. Is it in the interests of all those of our people of whom I have just spoken that we should leave Confederation?

THE SCHOOL TROUBLES

Mention has been made of the school troubles that arose in New Brunswick. But was it our uniting in Confederation that caused them to be and would they not have come up just the same without Confederation?

Difficulties of the same nature arose in Manitoba. There the Confederation pact was violated to the detriment of the minority and the authors of this fault will bear the responsibility for it in history. These difficulties have been settled as well as was possible, but in Manitoba as well as in New Brunswick, would the French Canadians have been better treated without Confederation?

Ontario also has her grievances which have lasted a long time, too long, indeed. There, the question is... The question there is that of language in the schools. The majority maintain that French Canadian fathers are not doing all they should to have their children learn English. And to this the majority reply that they are unjustly and cruelly deprived of the right to have their children taught French in the school.

Language questions have existed since the world has been a world. There were language questions even before the Tower of Babel. Everywhere they cause more or less divisions and regrettable struggles which are alway settled in the end, and the same will be true of the Ontario schools. Besides, the terrible war now raging will change so many things in the peoples taking part in it. It is going to be necessary to develop all the ressources of our intelligence and utilize all talents to repair its ravages. Rare indeed will those nations be who will be able to speak but one language, and still more rare the countries which can impose a single language on their populations. Yesterday I heard with pleasure the hon. member for St. Georges (Mr. Gault) express the hope that the Ontario school difficulties would soon be settled. He spoke wisely, spoke as did one of the first kings of Hungary St. Stephen, who said, nine hundred years ago : " Regnum unius linguae, regnum imbecilis." No need to say, Mr. Speaker, that I do not intend to apply that word to any province. I cite it as the opinion of an authority who had to suffer the wrongs which we are suffering ourselves. (Applause).

What would happen if we were separated? I do not wish to give the impression that the hon. member for Lotbinière meant to put the question. But since we are on that ground, it is well that everybody should state his thought.

What position would we be in, shut in without access to the sea during all the winter months? How could we defend our immense frontier? What part of the National Debt would we have to assume? What would be the customs duties of the provinces with which we now trade freely? Finally in what position would our people outside of Quebec be?

It is true that our province has, too often, been the butt of unjust attacks, and that insulting words have not been economised on our account. But would all that be enough to justify us in demanding the breaking of a pact, a pact that has given us the results which I summarized for you a few moments since?

If we glance towards the neighboring republic we will find there a great lesson in union, and an encouraging example. The American Confederation has existed for eighty years. The States were vieing with each other in work, enthusiam and ambition to aggrandize the common country, when there arose the question of freeing the negroes. And this almost ruined that great republic. The quarrel, begun in the newspapers and on public platforms, carried on bitterly in Congress, led the adversaries on to the battlefield. That was the Civil War, that war of secession which cost our neighbors the lives of 500,000 men, almost a million wounded, and two billions of dollars.

And what came about after so much devastation, so great misery, such expenditure of blood? Reconciliation, fruitful union that has developed, enriched, and aggrandized in the phenomenal manner you know of, the American Republic, and given her that power, thanks to which she is going, together with the Allies, to preserve to the human race right, justice and liberty. (Long applause.)

We complain of insults and appeals to prejudice but our fathers endured the same treatment under all the regimes, that of 1760, that of 1764, in 1774, in 1791, still more in 1840, and especially in the last sixty years we have been constantly, constantly subjected to insult by politicians to gratify the appetite for power and the lust for patronage.

We have been insulted, that is true. But I persist in the belief that it is not the fault of the majority, that, on the contrary, it is the fault of a small number. I think, Mr. Speaker, nay, I know, that the majority in this country is made up of good people. (Applause.)

It was Lord Acton who said : " The freedom of a country is measured by the freedom of the minority in that country ". That means that if the minority is not well treated, it is not the only element that suffers, for all those members of the majority who are fairminded, and just and generous of heart will suffer with the minority and in equal measure. (Applause.)

We must not forget the qualities of others. We must remember that the growth of our country is due to the combined qualities of all its groups and races.

His Excellency the Governor-General of Canada, the Duke of Devonshire, rightly said at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Confederation last summer :

" Confederation will remain as a monument that we owe to the patriotism, disinterestedness and clear vision of those statesmen whom we are proud to call the Fathers of Confederation.

" We have contracted to them a debt of gratitude which we can never pay and it behooves us to see to it carefully that the glorious heritage which they left us is handed down to our successors in all its integrity, and, if possible, embellished by the heroism of our people." (Long applause.)

Let us then preserve, yes, preserve intact, Mr. Speaker, our field of action, and let us avoid even the thought of diminishing the work which it is our mission to carry on.

Let us be inspired in the accomplishment of our task with the courage, the faith, the ideal of our forefathers, the discoverers of this country, and with the great visions of the Fathers of Confederation, and then, thanks to our work, our efforts, our sacrifices, the Twentieth Century will see our country numbered among the great nations of the world. (Applause)

When I look at our immense territory, when I admire our old provinces with all their great historic memories, and the new provinces born yesterday of the prairies and virgin forests overflowing with vigor, I feel proud of my name of Canadian, proud

of my country, Canada. I thank God that he gave to me to be born in this new and fertile land which is sheltered from the bloody carnage that is now devastating Europe. Land af liberty, land of equality, where castes are unknown, and where no other superiority is known than that of talent, effort and rectitude ! Land to which fruit ul peace will bring union and concord, and cause greater progress and prosperity than in any other corner of the world !

It is to preserve my country's greatness, to cherish in the hearts of our children all their hopes, to hand down to them, in a word, the heritage which we received from our fathers, that we should struggle fearlessly against the passing storm, that we should labor ceaselessly and untiringly to develop and maintain the Canadian Confederation.

(Long and enthusiastic applause. The Premier was given a lasting ovation when he resumed his seat.)

Mr. FRANCOEUR

Summing-up the debate, Mr. Francœur said that he was well satisfied with the results obtained through his motion coming before the House. It gave occasion to the Prime-Minister to say what Quebec had done in confederation, and what she is still doing.

His motion, he believed, was opportune. Furthermore as it has obtained the desired effect, he would not insist upon a vote being taken.